French Embassy To China

A JOURNAL

OF THE

FIRST FRENCH EMBASSY

TO CHINA,

1698-1700.

TRANSLATED FROM AN UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPT BY

SAXE BANNISTER, M.A.
QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

WITH

AN ESSAY

ON THE FRIENDLY DISPOSITION OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE TO FOREIGNERS.

"If I might presume to hope that my description of the manners and institutions of the people of INDIA could contribute in the smallest degree to render them more respected, and their condition more happy, I should close my literary labours with the satisfaction of thinking that I have not lived, or written in vain."—*The Works of Dr. Robertson, by Dugald Stewart*, 8vo. 1840, vol. viii. p. 359.

LONDON:
THOMAS CAUTLEY NEWBY, PUBLISHER,
30, WELBECK STREET.
1859.

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This Volume is Dedicated

TO

ADMIRAL SMYTH, F.R.S.

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, AND OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY,

In thankful acknowledgment of much instruction and much benefit received from that accomplished seaman, by an humble geographical student—the Editor of this old Journal.

In the "History of the Mediterranean," Admiral Smyth has shown, in the union of nautical science with antiquarian lore, how well dry research may be brought to bear upon great interests in modern navigation; and how the patient traces of the plumb-line, known only upon mouldy manuscripts, can be revived

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to help out our better, but defective stellar observations. To Admiral Smyth the Editor of this Journal is further indebted for encouragement in a geographical work that may still, as we more and more cover the earth with our fleets and our people, be found to be of eminent use in guiding our progress. That work is the construction of selected maps of sea and land upon a vast *uniform* scale, to give clear perceptions of what is now too often vague; and enable us to judge of men and things of deep interest, where, at present, our ignorance baffles the best designs. Should this work be executed worthily of its object, it is to Admiral Smyth, at the head of a distinguished list of other approvers of it, that the Editor will owe his success.

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I.

The urgent need of better intelligence respecting China and Japan. The Method adopted by Mr. Locke and Lord Somers to secure proper intelligence upon all our affairs beyond sea.

HARD as it may be, correctly, and in all their complex bearings, to estimate the prodigious

passing events in the East, the intrinsic importance of those events deeply interests thinking men; while their novelty or their grandeur strikes the imagination of the most unreflecting. Their issue, for ill or good, perplexes the coolest reasoner; but the more hopeful view of things on this occasion has powerful encouragements for us all. At least the persuasion gains strength daily, that, both for our own sakes and for the sake of our multitudinous fellow-creatures throughout Asia, we are bound to become better acquainted with whatever in their condition affects us, and upon all points in which our influence may affect them. These objects, it may be said, without presumption, will be materially promoted by examining such neglected details as are presented in this volume upon former communications, especially with China, by ourselves and the French. The dates of most of those details are comparatively recent; and they bear directly on the actual condition of things in the East. Those details have been mainly collected from official and other inedited stores in our own and in foreign archives.

The substance of the volume is a journal kept

on board a French ship of war sent to China by Lewis the Fourteenth. The manuscript of that document is in the writing of the early part of the last century. It was obtained casually in London: and, from the character of other MSS. among which the Journal was discovered, it seems to have been in the possession of a distinguished emigrant of the first French Revolution—having probably belonged to the family of a former minister or intelligent sea-officer. This journal is ably compiled, but several errors in the spelling of even trivial words show it to have been a copy of a more correct original.

It contains a genuine narrative of proceedings to which the journalist was more or less a party, on board the ship or in Canton, from its sailing in 1698 and its return to France in 1700. The French mission to China in 1698, here described, was unknown to our later ambassadors, although it affords a valid precedent that must have helped their suitable reception at the court of Pekin, where such reception has been held to be of extremely difficult attainment, and is still not without perplexity. By the liberal decision, however, of the Chinese Em-

peror himself, this French mission was originally destined for the northern port of Ning-po, and for the capital. It proceeded to Canton in consequence of the lateness of the season. But at Canton the Viceroy, it is expressly said, "wished to honour the French,"—foreigners as they were, —and relieved them at once from the payment of customs. In regard to the prostrations of the Kotou, the Viceroy permitted the French officers to offer their respects to the Emperor in any way "creditable to both nations." This was, therefore, settled amicably and on equal terms, when the French envoy declined to do the act of humiliation often imposed in such cases.

This took place, indeed, in Canton, not at Pekin, in the actual presence of the Emperor. But the original plan of the embassy not being carried out, from stress of weather only, the narrative represents the Emperor as invested with a sort of ubiquity—the authorities in Canton studiously turning to the supposed imperial presence with the reverence that would have been given to their great head, if actually before them. The waiver, therefore, of the offensive ceremony in question at the provincial city in 1698 is to be

held indicative of the disposition of the Chinese at that time to receive the foreigners with becoming courtesy. Consequently, in the actual condition of our intercourse with China, the production of this journal, containing such details, properly illustrated, will certainly promote the more peaceful tenor of that intercourse.

Lord Amherst in 1816, and Lord Macartney in 1792, were carefully provided with information in print and in manuscript, concerning what were thought to be *all* the former diplomatic communications with the Chinese Government from Portugal, Russia, Holland, and Rome.

History was diligently searched for instances of missions to and from the Emperors for the last six centuries, including the narratives of travellers. Even a Chinese Embassy to Lisbon was not quite overlooked, although not so fully described as its interest required. Such precedents were sought for in order to justify our claim of admittance to the Emperor on terms of reasonable equality, seeing that submission was not to be thought of, to ceremonies implying that subjection to China which must have weakened negotiations for fair trading, and for

mutually useful social intercourse. It is to be regretted that the habitual secresy of diplomatic proceedings defeated the good intentions at that time manifested by us. Lord Amherst being unaware of any suitable example previous to Lord Macartney's of 1792, was unwilling to rely on that supposed solitary case. When, therefore, the Court of Pekin, under the influence of really fleeting jealousies, would not yield in 1816 what its representative at Canton had readily granted in 1698, our minister came away in no small discredit. From that time our trade with the Chinese has suffered much embarrassment; wars have broken out between us; and our opium smuggling has been persevered in to an amount and with an evil character unparalleled in the history of trade.

It is in the absence of proper intelligence respecting the disposition of the Chinese government and people towards us, that *force* has been mainly depended upon as the means of opening their country advantageously at once to us and to themselves. But the most eager advocate of force will gladly renounce it if the object we all aim at can be won by ways of

peace; and the discovery of these happier ways will assuredly be promoted by the publication of authentic reports of such communication with the Chinese government as this Journal of the Mission from France; and also by the production of such particulars as are here collected from official sources respecting several important British missions to Pekin.

It will not be denied, that a competent knowledge of the matters which statesmen are concerned about, is indispensable to the discharge of their duties. Nor will it be doubted that the first of Italian philosophers, Vico, was right in making great powers and the best intentions subordinate to knowledge in the direction of life. It is then to be expected that eminent men should not neglect good means of acquiring such intelligence. Accordingly, we have not been without those of the highest reputation, who have studiously devised excellent methods of that kind of instruction. What the philosopher declared in theory, the wisest of our statesmen long ago developed practically in the analyses of national events beyond affecting us. The early plan of administering our colonies,

mainly traceable to the first Earl of Clarendon and Sir William Temple, and set forth in the royal Instructions of 1670 to the Committee of the Council for Plantations, expressly provided for the transmission of good intelligence from the Colonies home. That committee, after the Revolution of 1688, become the Lords of Trade and Plantations, framed, under the guidance of two other equally illustrious men, Locke and Lord Somers, a method of periodical analysis of that intelligence for the public instruction.

What was so deliberately planned, stands upon the Journals of Parliament to this day, as it was followed out during several years, until unwisely discontinued. The system included the Indian along with the Colonial Administrations; and it aimed at securing in both a due regard to philanthropy in the exercise of our growing power abroad.

The department under which so much was well done, is now represented by two Secretaries of State for the Colonies and India; and efforts have not been wanting to call the attention of the Government to a system admirably adapted to aid it in all its functions. No longer since

than in 1841, the Earl of Derby, at that time Secretary of State for the Colonies, and commencing his Ministry with a zealous execution of its duties, encouraged a special plan for the revival of those periodical analyses; but that plan was peremptorily put by, under an influence in the Colonial Office, which had been during many years hostile to publicity, and adverse to the best-conceived designs of Colonial reformation so much struggled for of late. In an evil hour, the Earl of Derby submitted to that influence; but we are come to better times, when it may reasonably be expected, that with the present greater need of what may be thus easily obtained for our guidance at home, our Colonial and Indian ministries will ere long revive what is open to no objection, and must tend to the best results. It is hardly rash to assert, that with the *timely* publication of the documents respecting China to be here produced after sixty years' suppression of them, the present favourable opening of this rich country to our trade might have been commanded long ago; whilst they will be seen to be of a character to silence all possible objections to their publication almost

concurrently with the events to which they relate.

We possess, in this way, means of intelligence at our command such as no nation ever had before; and a field lies before us for the wise, humane, and vigorous application of that intelligence, surpassing even our own great colonizing works.

At the same time, proof exists, amounting to demonstration, that the neglect of what was approved in 1842, by our Colonial Minister, has led to unparalleled horrors, and enormous waste of treasure in one region alone—South Africa. That region was selected at the time, to develop the method of our Colonial analyses proposed; and with due intelligence, the best and most successful *system* of Colonial rule ever carried out with the sanction of Parliament, could not have been abandoned, as in ignorance it then was. Without that intelligence,—for Parliament was kept in the dark on the subject of South Africa ten whole years,—we first had the burthen of the two needless Caffre wars of '46—'51 to bear,—and they have been followed by the utter ruin of a small people,—our neighbours eager to

share our civilization upon fair terms. Yet their ruin is at this moment on the brink of completion, whilst we are parcelling out their ands, for which we have paid an enormous price, both in coin, blood, and honour.

II.

The need of improved principles of intercourse with the Chinese. The Earl of Elgin to the Merchants of Shanghae. Our conquests to be stayed in the East, and its people to be treated with more justice.

THERE is urgent need, moreover, of much improvement in the political and commercial principles by which we are to conduct our intercourse hereafter with the people of China. Since the late treaties, indeed, with its government, the cautions sagaciously given a few months since by the Earl of Elgin to the merchants of Shanghae, in order to moderate their too eager expectation of profit from the trade of that vast country, and in order to guide all our proceedings with its inhabitants, have become

of paramount urgency to the Western Nations, in all their relations with the East. Proper inquiries into the special history of the Chinese, and into the history of the travels, the trade, and diplomacy of the more western world with the far East, will show that a great debt is owing from us to that too little known people. The Earl of Elgin, in reply to a previous address from the merchants of Shanghae, conceived not only no sanguine anticipations of commercial success, but also in a spirit of aggression, as if the government of China required extraordinary stray "demonstrations before its lofty pretensions could be reduced to pliancy," says—

"You express the trust that the result of my exertions may be 'more fully to develop the vast resources of China,' and to 'extend among the people the elevating influences of a higher civilization.'

"The expectations held out to British manufacturers at the close of the last war between Great Britain and China, when they were told that a new world was opened to their trade, so vast that all the mills in Lancashire could not

make stocking stuff sufficient for one of its provinces, have not been realized; and *I am of opinion that when force and diplomacy shall have done all that they can legitimately effect, the work which has to be accomplished in China will be but at its commencement.*

"When the barriers which prevent free access to the interior of the country shall have been removed, the Christian civilization of the West will find itself face to face, not with barbarism, but with an ancient civilization in many respects effete and imperfect, but in others not without claims to our sympathy and respect." *

This solemn and most wise judgment from our own ambassador, purports that besides the "*legitimate* uses of force and diplomacy," there are other proper means of intercourse with the Chinese wherewith to win our way to their reasonable confidence; and the precept must be made our familiar text, and be enrolled among our household words. There is need of such spurs to just and prudent resolves in all our proceeedings in the supposed new work

* See Appendix A, for the entire address of Lord Elgin.

now opening upon us. The great principle of humanity which Lord Elgin really rests upon, cannot fail to become at once the subject of earnest investigation, if the present occasion be properly used by the men appointed to watch, that the policy of this country be shaped to its lasting and honourable advantage. We shall not assuredly be wanting in our old, brave qualities by becoming more resolutely peaceful. But that principle of humanity, bitterly as we have to repent of its violations by us, lies deep enshrined in our history; and it has been settled by the parliamentary declaration that wars for conquest and the enlargement of dominion are repugnant to the true genius of our people and the best dictates of the constitution. Upon our relations with the whole East, critical events are before us; and we are under the holiest obligation to give heed to these portentous signs, however bravely danger must be repelled and difficulties struggled against. With no thought of abandoning what we hold, the past may be repaired with honour by listening to the counsels of experience. Our hopeful prospects in China and Japan offer easier means of com-

pensating the Eastern world for great commercial and political wrongs done there by us. Those vast regions are also linked to us by another more newly-opened world from Hudson's Bay, "the *Baltic* of North America," * destined at no distant period to teem with the free and hardy founders of settlements direct across to British Columbia, and to prosper in friendly rivalry with our republican brothers in the south.

But the loftier principles of humane policy must be made our pole-star in this fresh career of real, national greatness, in the spirit in which Parliament declared in the last century, "that to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wishes, the honour, and policy of this

* It will be permitted to the editor of this Journal to state, that this designation of Hudson's Bay, so strongly significant of capabilities equivalent to those commanded by Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Germans, and Russians, on another freezing sea, was, he thinks, first given to the American Hudson's Bay in letters written some years ago by a relative of his from California, to urge on ministers to take timely steps for colonizing our northern possessions from these islands.

nation;" * and therefore expressly forbade all wars without authority from home, except in case of actual or prepared hostility.

It is, then, our policy at home that must be curbed; and after half a century's fatal abandonment of the sagacious resolution by the parliament of George the Third, her present Majesty has wisely been advised to proclaim to India that "we desire no extension of our present territorial possessions" there; and the Queen promises what a great minister, Charles James Fox, so earnestly called for, "a *system* of measures that would secure peace and prosperity to India."

Another great man arrived at an analogous conclusion respecting the East, by historical deduction. Principal Robertson, at the close of his eminently honoured life, declared his confidence and satisfaction that his own labours upon India would tend to correct the erroneous opinions which commonly prevailed, to the injury of its swarthy tribes. He was persuaded that with more KNOWLEDGE the European rulers of

* 1783, 21 Geo. III. c. 65, and 1793, 33 Geo. III. c. 52.

India would direct their sway there more and more humanely.

Such observations, to be found among the very last of the writings of the eloquent Scottish divine, have the solemnity of a dying man's declaration; and they should be weighed at a crisis when our churches are too prone to offer up their prayers for *our own* people, instead of the "*whole* race of mankind," the objects of a broader and therefore wiser service. The authority of Dr. Robertson is not the less deserving of trust, since in his works is displayed the rare excellence of profound historical truth united with brilliant grace of style,* and his just conclusion upon India applies with equal force to China. It was a conclusion formed at a memorable period in our own career beyond sea. There had also been growing up for half a century all over Europe, throughout the Christian world, a warm feeling in favour of our more humane treatment of the world not Christian. The liberation of France and Germany was becoming deeply imbued with phi-

* Lord Brougham's Lives of the Men of Letters of the time of George the Third, p. 258.

lanthropy. America shared the spirit in the avowed sentiments of Franklin, Benezet, and Washington. Here, independently of the avenging inquest by Mr. Burke and his illustrious supporters into atrocities committed in Hindostan, the King's ministers zealously entered upon a diplomatic intercourse with China, which originated in a cordial invitation of such intercourse from the Court of Pekin.

Indeed, of the good influences of the eighteenth century, so fit to be set off against its corruptions and its crimes, not the least important was the earnest endeavours of France and Britain to search out and enlighten the dark places of remote regions. The peaceful missions of the time to China and Japan are to be traced to such explorations under the Bougainvilles and the Cooks of those days. To set the negro slave free, and to bring hope to the convict's cell, were great works; but it was better to aim as men then did, and are only beginning to do so again, at the prosperous spread of our civilization far and wide, without sacrificing our fellow-men of any class or nation in our progress.

III.

The Chinese Government well disposed in the last two centuries to encourage friendly intercourse with foreign governments; and at a critical period, prepared to grant domestic reforms, based upon a love of Truth, and calculated to facilitate such intercourse with us.

The invitations from two aged and most distinguished Chinese Emperors, Kang-hi, in 1697, and Kien-Long, in 1786, to European powers of the first rank, to open diplomatic intercourse with Pekin, were surely conclusive refutations of the common opinion respecting the exclusive character of the Chinese government. Allowance will be readily made for circumstances which have given rise to that erroneous opinion; and the difficulties of the whole case can be properly accounted for by a fair consideration of the perplexity with which a proud and not incorrupt Eastern Court must have looked upon the steady progress of Western nations—the Russians in the North—the British in India for a century—towards its greatness. The conduct of the Western ecclesiastics, admitted liberally

into the heart of China, had not always proved their Christianity to be humble and peaceful as they professed it was. Other bodies of men—of various European nations, long frequenters of the Chinese coasts, and only of latter times limited to the trade of Canton—had too often exhibited habitual disorders and mutual jealousies, that lowered them all in the eyes of the Chinese government and people. And when, at length, the dominant traders, the agents of the East India Company, acquired with their greater wealth a higher character, there was permitted to grow the frightful opium smuggling, to our immense profit, and ruinously to China, which alone was enough to mar all the good we ever did there.

What influence is justly to be attributed to European agencies, as stimulants to the Chinese troubles of the last fifty years, cannot be well estimated; but the efforts made by the Imperial government to stay the source of those troubles, call for our profound respect.

Concurrently with our diplomatic mission to Pekin, under Lord Amherst, in 1816, offering to China that just system of intercourse with

the west which the former sovereigns had approved, the Emperor issued a proclamation to his people, in order to initiate an era of great reformation in the country itself, declaring such reformation to be the only way to save it from convulsion.

"Govern," said his Imperial Majesty to the officers of the state, "govern with truth and sincerity, and order will be the result; if not, anarchy will ensue. To an individual, to a family, even to the sovereign, and the whole empire, nothing further is required but TRUTH. At this moment great degeneracy prevails; the magistrates are destitute of truth, and multitudes of the people are false."

The gigantic rebellion then begun in China, and raging to this day, is attributed by the Emperor, in the spirit familiar to Chinese usage, to his own "moral defects;" but it is to the Imperial functionaries of all ranks that this appeal is the most earnestly addressed.

It was an appeal of the highest authority for *administrative reform* on a gigantic scale, and to be based upon popular sympathies.

The document* is to be found among our records collected preparatory to Lord Amherst's mission; and it may well have been held to indicate a disposition to accept from us good offices, in aid of the reformation so earnestly desired, and so much in harmony with the best Chinese constitutions.

Assuredly it is not for us, who justly assert our purer, Christian civilization, to add fresh difficulties to those that beset the Chinese government. We are earnest at home for many reforms; and are bound to assist the efforts of those whose chief calls for a reign of TRUTH upon earth.

The application of the lesson rests with the true statesmen; and with the sincere philanthropists—terms that should be largely synonimous,—with all whom the genius and the counsels of the Burkes and the Robertsons of the last century should more and more influence, when dealing with the East. Fresh appeals must be made with energy to the national spirit which then did much for Indian

* Appendix E.

reforms; and whatever the Earl of Elgin may have accomplished more to justify his warning to the merchants of Shanghae, must be supported with zeal, to do honour to that good natural spirit claimed by illustrious men for centuries as the genuine spirit of the British constitution, hating fraud for any gain, and sanctioning force only for beneficial purposes.

At the same time, what an envoy may have erred in, must be boldly corrected. The result will be the development of means to strengthen and extend the solemn Parliamentary declaration of 1783 and 1793 against aggressive war, by shewing a way to natural aggrandisement superior to, and far more enduring than the sanguinary conquests of the Alexanders and Cæsars, and their modern imitators. This better policy will consist in a just system of commercial intercourse, calculated to secure benefits to all who respect it, and who are willing to impose upon men only honest obligations.

IV.

The general opinion respecting the dislike of Foreigners by the Chinese, erroneous.

No conviction is more deeply rooted among us than the opinion that the Chinese people and Government have, time out of mind, been insuperably opposed to fair intercourse with foreigners, unless under the compulsion of armed force. This opinion has not, indeed, been undisputed, but it is become almost universal. It is expressed in strong language, in a very able work, written to counteract the exclusive principle thus vehemently imputed to a people with whom we have long wished to trade on equal terms. "The Mandarins," it is asserted in that book, "have rejected, as they would avoid contact with the plague, every proposal from a foreigner for the establishment of friendly intercourse. *Timeo Danaos, et dona ferentes*, has been the never-failing answer of the Chinese government to offers of friendship and advantage from other governments."*

* England and America. Lond. 8vo. 1833. vol. i. p. 296.

This unqualified statement occurs in the work of one who by that work thoroughly exposed our colonial mal-administration ; and who, familiar as he was with all forms of its corruption, might well have looked more carefully upon the policy of a great people, not only not indisposed to meet us upon equal conditions, but also capable of appreciating things respecting which we have superior intelligence. That people, too, have been the source from which we have perhaps derived more than one institution essential to our social welfare, and certainly obtained some of the valued most of industrial products.

But the author of *England and America* shared the enormous error commonly prevalent on this subject. From the point of view in which he examined it, the leading part of his case was mistaken, and he was also misled by a common unfounded assumption, arising out of the superficial estimate habitually taken by our most experienced statesmen, and by our greatest advisers of important affairs beyond sea. These affairs have never secured attention except by fits and starts —upon the occurence of some calamity—a war, or an insurrection—upon the renewal of charters

to rich companies, or upon a great discovery of precious metals. Hitherto, as soon as a disturbing incident has passed by, our indifference to its colonial or Indian scene is fleeting about, returns. After the trial of Warren Hastings, and during the first quarter of the present century, commercial monopoly and administrative abuses revived, to be followed by a marvellous indifferenee respecting India; and the result of that trial really concealed from us the fields of peaceful enterprize at our command from Bombay to Japan. There was then set up in its place a system of unlimited conquests, which, in defiance of the injunctions of Parliament, was fast overleaping the Himalayas, and alarming, when not threatening, all eastern Asia.

France has shared our faults of ignorance and ambition on this head of territorial rule beyond sea; and she has more than shared our punishment. Whilst we have secured many indemnities for our frequent disasters, France has been stripped by us successively of her colonial possessions in Canada, in the West Indies, in the Indian Ocean, and upon the Continent of India. Nor has France any corrective

as Britain has, in the freedom and energy of individuals, against administrative corruption and incapacity. While Downing Street has been in profound sleep, or bewildered for want of intelligence, or misled by intrigue respecting the proper policy for our colonies, the colonists for the most part have taken care of themselves, and saved the national honour so far as their own material interests are concerned. But the cabinet of the Tuileries, pretending despotically to rule its remotest dependencies, paralyses them by fatal official influence. The want of intelligence respecting French affairs beyond sea betrayed by the French Cabinet, as could be shown by astounding examples, surpasses even the ignorance of Downing Street respecting our own remote affairs. How much the French have forgotten events so honourable to them as this Journal records the proceedings of their government to have been respecting China, was lately proved by the highest authority. The Moniteur says, that the power of France "has been little known in Pekin, save by *the vague remembrances* left by the Jesuits concerning the grandeur of Lewis XIV., *and subse-*

quently by the grandeur of Napoleon's name."

This utter oblivion of the really successful intercourse of Louis the Fourteenth with the Emperor of China—a success unquestionably won by the renown of the Grand Monarque—stands in amusing contrast with the assumption of the first Napoleon's influence in the East. We took care that he should possess no power as a conqueror there; and his want of it was not certainly compensated by his renown as a humane reformer. The vanity may be pardoned that prompts the French official organ in 1858 to claim "the first rank in breaking down the barriers of ages, which have kept nearly three hundred millions of people in isolation." But it is for the interest of France that her statesmen should be better read in diplomatic history, which records a much earlier and much worthier opening of the mysterious land, than that which we are now busy about. It is much more incumbent upon French statesmen to call carefully to mind the causes of the failure of France in China so soon after the country had been fairly opened to them one hundred and fifty years

ago. They should now revive the admirable speculation of the very ablest of their economists, the Abbé Morellet, on their trade. At this moment they are acting against his wise conclusions, by forcible territorial acquisitions in Cochin-China; and they are doing this, when ever since 1830 the like marauding expeditions from Algiers to the South Seas have drained them of hundreds of millions of their treasure, without a single solid compensation. The Abbé Morellet demonstrates, unanswerably, that China and its rich resources may be reached by France far more persuasively and more profitably by peaceful trade, than by all such conquests as the first Napoleon and his successors, whether Bourbon, Orleanist, or Imperial, could possibly effect.

Another voyage to China, by a French royal ship, in the reign of Charles the Tenth, directed by a skilful navigator, Admiral La Place, seems to be also forgotten, although now meriting earnest attention for its peculiar bearing upon the trade of the French in the East.

V.

The Four British Missions to Pekin in 1787, 1792, 1804, and 1816.

THE prospect of satisfactory intercourse with China, will be much cleared by examining the character of our own four solemn communications with its government before we made war upon that country; and so got hostile possession of a small portion of it—Hong-Kong. Two of those communications, that under Colonel Cathcart, in 1787, and those of 1804, are almost unknown. The other two, Lord Macartney's embassy in 1792, and Lord Amherst's in 1816, have been the subjects of many printed volumes, which, however, omit some things of great interest at present, and essentially belonging to both.

The four missions to Pekin originated in an invitation addressed by the Chinese court to the agents of the East India Company at Canton, upon the occasion of a great solemnity in honour of the aged Emperor, Kien Long, one of the most venerated sovereigns of China. Imprudently, no advantage was taken by the Supra

Cargoes of this favourable opportunity of improving our national relations with the central government of that country.

There was a difference of opinion respecting the disposition of that central government towards foreigners. All were agreed that the conduct of the authorities at Canton was oppressive; but whilst some well-informed persons were thoroughly persuaded that proper appeals to the Emperor at Pekin would be well received, and effectually check those local authorities, the company's representatives took an adverse view of the case,* appearing to have been remarkably ill informed on the subject. Their chief, Mr. Fitzhugh, in 1787, made the following statement respecting the mission to Pekin then settled by George III. himself.

After asserting that *all* former embassies had failed to conciliate the Chinese court, he proceeds:* "I cannot suggest to myself a reason why one sent from England should be more favoured. The Chinese government is proud and insolent. It looks with contempt on all foreign nations. Its ignorance of their force

* Records at the Board of Control, vol. 148, p. 1.

gives it confidence in its own strength, which by experience it knows to be superior to the bordering hordes of Tartars with whom it is commonly engaged in war: *nor do I think it looks on Embassies in any other light than acknowledgments of inferiority. Many I know are of a different opinion,* and they form it from what has sometimes passed at Canton, where, when disputes have arisen, there has been an appearance of fear, not only in the common people and merchants, but among the Mandarins; and even the Viceroy himself has shewn anxiety and apprehension. Allowing this to be true, it does not change my opinion; because I have always believed that such apprehensions arose not from our power and force, but from the absurdity of their own government, which supposes, that if any disturbance happens, it must be owing to some misconduct of the magistrates; and if the tumult is of a serious nature, and lives are lost, the Mandarins are disgraced—sometimes executed.

"I think the Ambassador would be well re-

ceived, as far as the pride and singular forms of the Chinese allowed. *The prostrating himself before the Emperor's throne would not on any account be dispensed with.* It is said that this ceremony has for many years been *the bar to a French Embassy.*"

"With regard, then, to, first, in what part of China it would be proper to land the Ambassador, I think he ought to land at Canton, because it is the place which all embassies from Europe have hitherto been sent to, excepting the Russian, which went through Siberia to Pekin, and it is at present the only place to which Europeans are allowed to go. This may appear a frivolous reason to you; but custom and prejudice usurp the place of reason among a people bigoted to forms. Otherwise TIEN-TSIN is a seaport within seventy miles of the capital, which for distance would be more eligible, as the journey from Canton to Pekin is above fourteen hundred miles. But there appears to me a material reason why Tien-tsin would be an exceptional port for an English Ambassador to debark at. It is the place to which an English Agent was sent in the year 1759 to present a remonstrance;

and it was hoped he would be able to proceed to Pekin. He was not, however, permitted either to go thither or to embark again, but sent down by land to Canton, with orders from the Court to make good his charges, and the vessel was obliged immediately to leave the port. I think it therefore probable that the Chinese Government, suspecting something of a similar nature by the arrival of another English ship, might proceed in a violent and peremptory manner, without considering the difference between the company's Agent and the King's Ambassador."

It will not have escaped the reader's notice that a motive is here attributed to the French government for *always abstaining* from diplomatic intercourse with the Chinese government, in direct contradiction to the facts established by the record of the mission of 1698. Now, how entirely Mr. Fitzhugh erred, was shown by Lord Macartney's proceedings in 1792. He landed without the slightest difficulty at the port nearest to Pekin; was received there with great respect; did not submit to the degradation so positively looked for; and the mission actually produced an earnest desire on the part of the

Chinese Government that it should be followed up by more familiar diplomatic intercourse *at Pekin*.

To our own reigning sovereign, George III., is due the credit of having been the most earnest to meet the invitation of the Chinese Court frankly, promptly, and liberally. His Majesty expressed much regret when he learned that the Company's agents at Canton had acted in the matter with so little consideration;* and when the first mission was stopped by the death of the envoy, the King at once "determined" it should be revived.†

Thus, as in the case of Captain Cook's voyages of discovery, the Chinese Mission may be properly called a personal work of George III.

The ministers of the Crown of that day, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, understood human nature better than the worthy supracargo of the East India Company at Canton. Therefore, by their advice and active interposition, the error com-

* Records at the Board of Control, vol. 193.

† This determination was signified to the Board of Contract the 8th of February, 1789, by Secretary Grenville. Records, *ib.*

mitted by him and his colleagues was fully rectified. They had curious information on the subject for their guidance, as shown by the following three papers, which require little comment. The first seems to have been written by a friendly European in Pekin, probably one of the Christian priests long settled there. Such an individual was afterwards friendly, and very serviceable to Lord Macartney in 1792.

Extract of a letter received 1779.*

"It gives me no small uneasiness when I reflect on the harsh and unjust treatment which the Europeans meet with at Canton, and I am certain that if the Emperor was acquainted with one hundredth part of the frauds and villainy of those Mandarins he would hang them every one. The four millions (of dollars) owing by the Chinese would certainly be immediately discharged, and, if no other way could be found, out of the public treasury, so just and strict is this emperor, more particularly when foreigners are concerned. I do not mention the robbery

* Records at the Board of Control, vol. 148, p. 30.

committed on board your ship at Whampoa, which would be looked upon as a most atrocious outrage; but how represent such a circumstance without creating a great deal of confusion? Imagine to yourself, my dear Mr. ——, that WE are only twenty Europeans among so many millions of infidels. The Mandarins of Canton are all related to, or supported by the ministers and grandees of the empire, to please whom, and to ensure their protection, they are obliged to send immense presents. Wherefore, had we an inclination to inform the Emperor, than which to me nothing would be more easy, I need only show your letter to one of his sons or grandson (with whom I have frequently conversed about you and your nation), — what would be the consequence? One of two events must take place. Either the Emperor would order a general massacre of the Mandarins of Canton, and also of their patrons here; and the odium must fall on us Europeans, doomed to live among so many beasts, who would seek to revenge themselves on us for the loss or death of their relations, &c.; or he might send a person to Canton, to examine into the truth of the accusations, when every

artifice would be made use of, to clear their countrymen, and throw the whole blame on the Europeans. *What, then, is to be done? Would the foreigners all unite, it would be easy to hit upon some scheme; but the animosities among them at Canton, where each nation is aiming at the abasement of the rest, occasion the many oppressions.*"

The second is without date, but it was probably written shortly after the first. The genuineness of both letters was vouched for to the satisfaction of Mr. George Rose, who communicated them to the ministers, his colleagues.

"*Translation from a paper received from a friend up the country, in answer to some questions asked, whether it would not be possible to put the Europeans who trade to China, on a more equitable and respectable footing?**

"With regard to the oppressions and abuses suffered by the Europeans who either reside in, or annually come to Canton to trade, there is no

* Records of the Board of Control, vol. 148, p. 29.

other mode of redress than to find some method of laying them before the Emperor, who, being a man of integrity, and desirous that justice should be done to every one, particularly to strangers, would immediately apply the proper remedy, and severely punish the guilty persons. In the present state of affairs this cannot be done, as the very persons whose duty it is to acquaint him of the situation of them, are the very same who most vex and defraud the poor Europeans, whence it arises that many circumstances are totally suppressed, or when they come to his knowledge are so grossly misrepresented, that the whole blame is thrown on the Europeans, who neither are permitted, nor know how to defend their cause in this country. Wherefore, if they would one and all resolve to rouse, reduce things to a proper system, and free themselves from their present slavery, they might adopt one of the following plans, which appear to me the only permanent ones, and agreeable to every law. *The difficulty would principally consist in bringing the different nations to be of one mind and to act in concert.*

" *Plan* 1. That all the nations who trade to

Canton unite, and send, in the joint name of their respective Princes, an Ambassador or Envoy to the Court, who should represent to the Emperor the necessity of having a person either at Pekin or Canton, who should present to the Emperor himself all memorials or petitions, and not to inferior mandarins (as this mode is liable to much abuse): to demand likewise the confirmation and enlargement of certain privileges which might be easily managed and obtained, provided that no mention be made of past abuses, to avoid the opposition which would be made by the guilty ministers and mandarins.

"It would be necessary to find out an interpreter, who, void of partiality to any particular nation, would sincerely aim at the advantage of the Europeans in general, and still better if any European, perfect master of the language, could be found to accompany the Embassy. With regard to the expenses which might be incurred by such a step, I am of opinion they would be amply repaid by one year's savings of the extortions of the mandarins and frauds of the Chinese merchants. In case any particular nation would undertake such negociation, clear

and open instructions can be sent, and a secure place may be asked and obtained for carrying it on.

"*Plan* 2. To transport all the European trade to Macao, come to an agreement with the King of Portugal, and enact European laws. The Chinese would certainly come to trade with the Europeans not only at Macao, but on any of the neighbouring islands where they might choose to settle; nor would they despise Macao when they found it patronized by all nations. Respecting the duties and anchorage, it might be wholly saved or paid by the Chinese, to whom the commerce is more beneficial than to the Europeans.

"These are the two modes which have hitherto occurred to those who wish to remedy the insupportable impositions which daily grow more intolerable.

"More distinct and clear instructions shall be sent, in case the business should be seriously taken in hand, either according to the one or the other plan."

The third paper is more elaborate. It was the production of *Dr. John Ewart*, whose heart

was in the work. He was attached to the Mission of Colonel Cathcart, and might have been a member, with advantage, of Lord Macartney's. The following are extracts from Dr. Ewart's

"*Facts and considerations relative to the proposed Embassy to China.**

"It is probable that an Embassy may easily procure admittance into China, because we have authentic journals of successive Embassies to Pekin from the beginning of the fifteenth down to the middle of the present century. Though from powers less considerable than England, they have been uniformly received with every mark of distinction, and it is not presumable that the only exception will be made to one from this country, which shall be properly appointed, and conducted according to the forms required by the Chinese Government.

"It is possible to obtain leave for the Embassador to sail directly to the north-east coast. The Emperor of China requires likewise marks of submission, not conceded by the Embassadors

* Records of the Board of Control, vol. 148, p. 137

of a Sovereign to any other Prince, such as prostrating before him and beating the forehead nine times on the floor; and without these condescensions no Embassador was ever received. They are nevertheless considered more as a form than a submission, for the Emperor's prime minister returns the same marks of reverence to the credential letter presented by the Embassador to the Sovereign.

"It is to be feared that the chief obstacles to the success of the mission will be raised by the Mandarins at Canton, who would lose immense profits if part of the commerce of Europe were to be transferred to other ports. The interests of the northern provinces, in which the Court resides, and those of the empire at large, are, however, directly opposed to the private and local advantages of the Mandarins and merchants at Canton. It is chiefly and almost solely in the former, that our woollen manufactures and our furs from Nootka are wanted for clothing, on account of the coldness of the climate. If the ports of these provinces were opened, the expense of those articles would be diminished, by the whole saving of land-car-

riage through an extent of twenty-four degrees of latitude. Our tin, for which the demand increases daily, would be landed at once in the province of Fokien, where it is chiefly wanted for packing the teas, and so on with respect of other commodities.

"By the same means the Chinese would export their own productions to better advantage, and a much greater extent. The province last-mentioned lies immediately upon the coast, and supplies the best teas. Adjoining to it is the province of Kiansi, where the best porcelain is manufactured; the exports of which could not fail to be much increased, when freed from the expense and risks of transporting such frangible ware overland to Canton. On the coast still farther to the north-east, is the province of Che Kiang, which yields the best and most extensive productions of silk, another of their staple exports.

"It is a matter for the consideration of this country, whether permission should be given to import the silk stuffs of China into England on paying an extreme duty that would raise their price to the value of our own manufactures,

to be drawn back, however, on their being exported again for the continent.

"Without hurting our own weavers, we might thus supply all Europe with silks cheaper than France or Russia could bring them to market. The best Chinese satins and silks can be sold in Europe one half cheaper than what are manufactured at home.

"It is probable that many other means might be pointed out to the Chinese, whereby their exports would be greatly increased, and their manufacturers assured of regular employment and subsistence. All the accounts we have of China, how contradictory soever in other respects, agree in this one fact, that in no country are the labouring poor so uncertain of finding employment, and from this circumstance so frequently exposed to want. The demand for, and quantity of, labour is quite unequal to employ those who depend on their industry for their bread, which singular disproportion is no doubt owing to their neglect of encouraging a foreign trade. It appears hardly credible that the human mind, however prejudiced, can refuse a conviction of the benefits which the individuals

of that great empire, and the nation itself, must derive from giving an outlet to its productions, and employment to its productive labourers, when the means of doing it to advantage are set before them.

"The Chinese are likewise subject to the calamity of frequent famines, from a failure of their crops; by which thousands are starved every three or four years, upon an average. Placed at the extremity of Asia, and cut off from all possibility of supply from the countries around them, by extensive barren deserts, the Chinese can look for succour, in such distress, only to the European settlements in India. Bengal, the most fertile, is likewise the best situated to give them relief. The Chinese may be, therefore, induced to form an alliance with the English, as being the only nation capable of supplying them in times of famine.

"The encroachments and designs of the Russian government on China, afford likewise a means of convincing the latter of the importance and advantage to them of the friendship of England. A Russian army maintained on the west frontiers of China, and ships of war building on the coast

of Kamschatka, can hardly have any object in view but the annoyance of the Chinese, or the forcing them again to admit caravans from Siberia. The inability of the Chinese to defend their coast against a Russian fleet, should they be seriously threatened, must undoubtedly make them desirous of our naval aid; the advantages to be gained by which are too obvious to require comment. The enmity which the Chinese bear at this moment to the Russians is so great, that they scruple to receive the furs brought in English ships to Canton, from a suspicion that we are become carriers of Russian goods.

"As the Chinese have on different occasions sent ambassadors to distant nations, perhaps they might be prevailed upon to return one to England, which would certainly have a good effect in cementing an alliance."—*John Ewart.*

VI.

The Honourable Colonel Charles Cathcart's Mission to Pekin in 1787.

THE utter neglect of the French and British peaceful and *invited* missions to China in 1698 and 1787 by all historians, is a fact which demonstrates that more is needed by us to link the hopeful present with the rich past, than turning over the pages of the most industrious chroniclers. The tens of thousands of folios of correspondence mouldering in the State Paper Office, at the India House, and at the Board of Control, leaving nothing unrecorded in some shape, must be surveyed and analyzed. For the most part the classification of these papers is perfect. They contain the internal proofs of the brave way taken by our fathers to build up Britain beyond sea;—of our errors not a few; but, on the whole, the proofs are abundant and strong that our boast is not unseemly of those fathers having been worthy to teach the

nations how to live. It is suicidal to our fair fame to leave such historical treasures to accumulate undigested; but to lose their lessons and their warnings, so useful to our future guidance, must bring upon us speedy and merited punishment. Long acquaintance with the character of Colonial and Indian records enables us to speak positively of their great value. The late learned George Chalmers, then at the Board of Trade, had published two useful volumes of legal extracts from them; and he permitted the perusal of the originals, with the advantage of his personal comments on their history. His volumes belong to our classical colonial times—the times in which, from Somers and Jones to Ryder, Yorke, and Lord Mansfield, every great colonial question came under the consideration of real lawyers.

For several years past the Directors of the East India Company have also given free access to their China papers; and recently those of the Board of Control have been liberally opened by the noble Secretary for India.

The French case belongs to the most painful phase of the commerce of France in the East—

the period immediately preceding the fall of that commerce; and the case, with its proper antecedents and consequents, would fill the most valuable chapter in the history of that commerce from Colbert to Turgot.

Our own case of Colonel Cathcart's incomplete mission is of even more urgent interest; and it is matter of surprise more than of reproach, that the pains-taking recorders of Scottish worthyhood should have left Charles Cathcart out of its catalogue, when he was the able leader of the best design ever planned to open the Court of Pekin freely and fairly to us.

The actors in the case were of the highest dignity; its immediate circumstances of the greatest weight.

The Parliamentary resolution of 1783 against territorial aggression by our Indian governors,—was a fitting homage to the spirit of the times, and in harmony with Lord Chatham's indignant rejection of Lord Clive's scheme for attacking the Chinese.

The Emperor of China had invited a mission of compliment, in a perfectly friendly spirit, from the representatives of the East India Com-

pany in Canton. They had failed from various motives to meet that invitation, like prudent men; and a casual death in the harbour, leading to an utterly unjustifiable judicial murder by the Chinese, seems to have paralyzed them, although in the person of Mr. Bevan, one of the supercargoes, they had a Chinese scholar of the first class, capable of conversing in the court language of Pekin.

George III., however, saw that the Emperor's call was really an indication of a good spirit, to be hailed with the warmest acceptance; and his Majesty's sensible views were powerfully seconded by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, the ministers, and as warmly met by their rivals, Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke. Not the slightest difference of judgment prevailed on the subject.

This great matter had a wider range in European and American sympathies. Leading minds in all quarters were bent upon effecting the good of humanity at large. The King of France, poor Louis XVI., was a sincere philanthropist. The Emperor of Germany was a philanthropist, and as sincere. Washington and Franklin were philanthropists. Negro slavery was

then trembling in its chains. The whole Christian world was repenting of that sin, as we were repentant of our special wrongs to India. Sanguinary punishments were going out at home. Howard reigned in all hearts. Philosophy triumphed; and for once the common family of man seemed about to share the common blessings of Providence without envy and without stint. Herder and Robertson, and speedily after them Cowper and Thomas Campbell, bards of all humanity and hope, were but the exponents of one universal, practical faith in our happy destiny. At that time, none wished, or was able to say of us islanders that "the wealth, the dominion, and greatness of England must be accepted only along with its cruelty, its nationality, and its poverty." *

But there is even more of special good than this in the basis of the Chinese mission of 1787. Among the traders of the far East, well-founded recent traditions prevailed to justify confidence in the sympathy of the Court of Pekin with the whole human family. An active body, connected with the trade of the Empire

* Memoirs of Perthes, 8vo. 1856, vol. ii. p. 306.

and the ports of Malaya, had long been persuaded, that the Court, properly approached, was accessible. They maintained, what Lord Macartney afterwards held to be correct, that the spirited attempt of 1759 by Mr. Flint to reach Pekin by the Peiho would have succeeded, had it been made by a royal envoy. Between that time and 1698 the visit of Commodore Anson had favourably impressed the authorities of Canton with the courage and good faith of our people.

In all quarters, under such fair influences, Chinese enterprise expanded; and there was a prospect of the Chinese people recovering the way they lost through the atrocious buccaneering of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century; and the unscrupulous scandals of the Dutch and English in the century following.

One of the instructions to Colonel Cathcart was to discover what had been the character of previous diplomatic communications with the Court of Pekin. That there had been such communications there was no doubt, and they were maintained from the first reign of the Tartar conquerors of China early in the seventeenth century. It was even believed, upon pretty

good grounds, that a Chinese ambassador had, at some time in this period, been sent to Lisbon.

A mystery hung over all these transactions. The Roman Catholic ecclesiastics of different nations, French, Italian, Spanish, and German, seem to have exercised at Pekin a sort of standing diplomatic representation of their several countries. They were all hostile to the Protestants; so that the Dutch first, and after them the English, were in this respect at great disadvantage in China. One of the objects of the Cathcart mission was to put an end to this unsatisfactory state of things. The Latin letter from the Emperor of China to George III.,* at the time of Lord Macartney's embassy, is obviously the production of one of those ecclesiastics, made up of genuine Chinese views and such evasive turns as a crafty pen would give to a communication entrusted to a European. Under these circumstances, the selection of Colonel Cathcart for the new British mission may well have excited strong hopes in the Court of George III. His personal qualifications for the mission were beyond the ordinary rate; and

* Appendix, E.

the principles upon which the King presented his envoy to the Emperor were worthy of the occasion and of all the actors in it.

The secrecy with which the Chinese mission of 1787, entrusted to the Honourable Charles Cathcart, was planned, seems to have thrown it unfairly into the shade. Although in consequence of the deaths of its leader, and two of its chief members, on the voyage out, they had not the honour to carry out the design entrusted to them, their preparations for it seem to have been judicious and complete. The scale was not so magnificent as that of Lord Macartney's embassy; but its spirit was to the full as lofty and humane. It originated almost concurrently with the resolution of parliament against territorial aggression in India, embodied in the statute of 1783.

VII.

Lord Macartney's Embassy, 1792.

THIS mission was an extended resumption of Colonel Cathcart's. The disappointment caused

by the decease of that officer did not weaken the determination of our government to persevere in the attempt to establish friendly intercourse with the Court of Pekin. The choice of the new Ambassador was singularly judicious. Lord Macartney had already given good proof of ability during his public services in America, and in Russia; and as Governor of Madras. He appears to have combined sufficient personal dignity, with an uncommon conciliatory demeanour; and crowned that difficult union of divers qualities by unquestionable integrity. He was well seconded by Sir George Staunton, whose son, one of the ambassador's suite, at a very early age acquired so familiar a knowledge of the Chinese language as to attract the Emperor's kindly notice. One of the junior members of this Embassy, the late Sir John Barrow, gave in after-years ample proof of the propriety with which its staff was selected.

To the ample accounts of this Embassy long before the world, there may be added with advantage two letters written by Lord Macartney on his way home to Mr. Dundas, and to the directors of the East India Company.

The letter to Mr. Dundas sets the prospect of future diplomatic intercourse with Pekin itself in strong colours. It also explains what has always caused some hesitation in accepting the frank civilities of the Emperor to Lord Macartney personally, at their true value. There was a serious obstacle to the mission altogether, irrespective of the enmity of the great functionaries who were disposed unduly to countenance their friends, the too greedy officials at Canton. This obstacle was an apprehended military movement on the frontier of Thibet; and our growing gigantic armaments in India. It would not be difficult for an experienced minister in any court, to exaggerate the danger of encouraging so powerful a neighbour; and an honest one might be excused if he gave even undue weight to appearances which we had not been too careful to soften by a resolutely peaceful demeanour in India.

The friendship of Lord Macartney with Chinese nobles, the intermediaries between his Lordship and the Emperor, as set out in the following paper, is among the most interesting things recorded in the history of the Embassy. This do-

cument will, it is believed, much increase the interest of that embassy, sometimes called a failure.

"*Extract of a letter from Lord Macartney, dated Canton, December 23d, 1793, to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas.**

"Upon this occasion the Viceroy opened his mind, as I thought, very sincerely to me. He considered, as he said, that not only justice to us, but the honour of his own country, required a change in its conduct towards the English; that he would be happy to be the instrument of effecting such a change; yet considerable as was the authority entrusted to him, and firm as his footing, being a kinsman of the Emperor, might be supposed, yet his situation was not without danger, nor the conduct to be held by him without its difficulties. He said that besides the men in office at Canton, interested in preventing the redress of the grievances occasioned by themselves, and accustomed to treat our nation with contempt, as well as with injustice, we had prejudiced enemies at court particularly his own predecessor, who might consider reform as a censure on himself as having

* Records of the Board of Control, Vol. 150, p. 221.

suffered the abuse. But besides all these, there was another consideration of serious weight upon his mind. He was aware of the peremptory style in which our requests were refused by the Colao; he knew not how such a refusal might be represented by me to the court of Great Britain, and if I endeavoured to excite resentment there, any future appearance of such resentment against his country, would render him criminally answerable in the eyes of his own Government for any favour shewn by him to us in the mean time. He wished to be fully satisfied in this respect. I was not quite certain that this apprehension sprang from the Viceroy's own mind. It might have arisen from a still higher source; but at any rate it was some indication that from a fear of our land forces in India, and of our strength everywhere by sea, the British nation was felt to be too powerful not to require some management even from this proud empire. I acknowledged to the Viceroy that the first perusal of the answers from the court of Pekin made an impression on my mind which would naturally have led me to represent the Chinese Govern-

ment as indifferent if not inimical to that of Great Britain, but that the explanations which the Emperor's Minister who accompanied me to Han-choo-foo, as well as he, the Viceroy, gave me of his Imperial Majesty's real sentiments, (often too, as I was informed, in the words of his own letters), had fully reconciled my mind;—that I perfectly relied on the assurances that were thus solemnly made to me of a particular attention to the interests of the British subjects in China; and had expressed this reliance in the accounts which I rendered of my negociation to the English Government, which I doubted not would confide in the accomplishment of the promises made to me. The Viceroy then asked if I could authorize him to assure the Emperor that the King would give a proof of the continuance of his good disposition, by writing again soon to His Imperial Majesty; and by sending a minister to China, if the Emperor were disposed to allow of such, not with the parade and expense of the present Embassy, but simply as a testimony of the subsisting friendship of His Britannic Majesty."

"I ventured to say, that the King would have no difficulty in writing to the Emperor, to acknowledge the presents sent by the latter to him; and to thank him for the honourable reception of the embassy. A circumstance (distinct from the objects of it) I still hoped might be brought about in time, and which his Majesty had from the beginning intended, was to have, if not constantly, at least occasionally, a minister resident in China. On the Viceroy's desiring to know when such minister and letter could be expected to arrive, I observed that the distance of the two empires, and the uncertainty of sea voyages, rendered it impracticable to ascertain the time. He then told me that he would immediately despatch a courier to court mentioning the substance of my conversation, together with such other suggestions from himself, as would, he trusted, give perfect satisfaction to the Emperor on all points. Soon afterwards it occurred to him, that it would be agreeable to the Emperor if I were to take occasion of the solicitude expressed in his late letters about our treatment through the journey, to address to him a few words of general compli-

ment and thanks, according to the Chinese mode; which I readily did accordingly. A copy of which address is enclosed. As we approached Canton, the Viceroy went on before, to prepare for my reception there in a manner suitable to the dignity of the embassy. And the uncommon honours paid to us by his directions, and his own personal attention, have had not the mere effect of idle and transitory show, but have taught the inhabitants of Canton to alter their tone already towards our people; and to consider them no longer as destitute of protection. An answer is also come from the Emperor to the Viceroy's dispatches, of which answer I have the honour to enclose a Latin translation, made from the original Chinese. This answer is considered as particularly gracious on the part of his Imperial Majesty; and his desire to have an English minister in China, after the arguments in his former letter against such a measure, shows a favourable change in his sentiments towards the British nation, and is no ill-omen of what may be obtained from him in other respects. It might be one object of the minister at Pekin, fully to undeceive the

government there in relation to our supposed assistance to the enemy of the Chinese in Thibet, by relating the transactions which must have given rise to such a misrepresentation of our conduct. The real fact appears in the mutual correspondence of the Governor General of Bengal, the contending Rajahs of Nepaul and Lassa, and the commander of the Chinese forces, which I received only on my arrival in Canton both from Bengal and England. The Chinese commander must have attributed hostility to us in order to enhance the estimation of his own merit in overcoming it; and he was, I doubt not, among the chief causes of restraining our communication with the administration at Pekin, and of hastening our departure from thence, in order to avoid the detection of his falsehoods. I have fully satisfied the Viceroy on this subject, since I was possessed of the materials to enable me to do so; having been until then obliged to have recourse to mere general arguments to repel any such injurious suppositions. But as it is a matter not immediately in his province, he has much reluctance to explain the matter to the Emperor, and

thinks it will be more becoming from the King's own representative, who may from thence lay the foundation of an alliance, of which every advantageous condition in our favour, or cession of territory for the convenience of our trade, may be gained by promise of support on the side of India."

The letter* from Lord Macartney, when in China, to the directors of the East India Company, differs from the despatch to the minister; and illustrates advantageously the versatility of his lordship's talents. It is dated, Canton, 23rd December, 1793, and contains the following passages:—

"I now seize the first occasion, as becomes me, of acknowledging your letter of instructions of the 8th September, 1792, when you can best judge how far I have endeavoured to conform my conduct to them. You justly considered, that 'the first and most important object was neither to impair nor injure the actual situation of the company, thereby checking those prospects which were decidedly in view.' The Embassy was certainly not exempt from the

* Records of the Board of Control, vol. 149, p. 567.

risk attending all considerable undertakings, of leaving matters, in case of failure, worse than they had been found; and in the present instance, beside the obstacles to our success which were possible to foresee, from the opposition and intrigues of rival companies trading to China, of the Canton officers and merchants, and from the suspicions and jealousies of the Court of Pekin, on account of our Indian possessions, all which are observed upon in Mr. Dundas's instructions, other difficulties occurred out of the reach of probability, and some beyond all human foresight. It was not to be foreseen that while our troops were really employed in the peninsula of India against Tippoo Sultan, the Chinese should fancy we were assisting their enemies in Thibet; feeling, though concealing their alarm and resentment for such a procedure, it was not likely that their aversion to the revolution in France should so suddenly indispose them against any connection with the Western World; and it was not natural to expect that the Portuguese, whom we take every occasion to assist and protect in Europe, and who have no commercial com-

petition with us in this country, should suffer their religious bigotry and local jealousy to operate upon their conduct to our prejudice. Having such difficulties to encounter, all of which were not to be surmounted but by the gradual operation of time, aided by much prudent management, your admonition became necessarily of the first consequence in my eyes. I felt under circumstances of strange and inconsistent conduct in particular instances on the part of the Chinese relative to my negociation, as well as sometimes of personal provocation to myself, the absolute necessity of uncommon caution and forbearance on my part. By these means not only the main object of your instructions has been perfectly secured; but the way to attain the prospects before you is rendered clearer, and the prospects themselves enlarged. Not only the Emperor declared at the time when he was under impressions the least favourable to our views, that he would treat the English merchants trading to Canton with justice and benevolence; but he has since signified by one of his ministers who accompanied me as far as Han-choo-foo, and also by

the new Viceroy of Canton, who was chiefly with me afterwards, that a particular enquiry should be made into the duties and fees actually levied upon the English trade, in order to remove every kind of extortion, and that such indulgence should be shewn as might be consistent with the laws and customs of the Chinese. The circumstance of the communication being now opened with Pekin, for our representations, may check the disposition of the Canton officers to impose. In general, I have found no people more curious, more greedy after novelty. The Chinese have copper mines, though I fancy they are very imperfect metallurgists, and consequently work their mines to disadvantage; but I understand they send every year twelve large Chinese junks, each of several hundred tons burthen, to Japan for some of the finest copper of that country. Of tin, when beaten into thin leaves, the consumption is so general throughout the empire, that scarce a village is to be found without a shop where those leaves hang for the daily and nightly use of the people in their temples. The Malay tin has indeed been found more easily reducible into

those minute divisions; but as I suppose the metal of both countries is intrinsically the same, the accidental quality must probably be derived from some variety in the process of the reductions of the ore (such as using fuel perfectly freed from the smallest mixture of any particles of sulphur) which the advanced state of chemistry in England might enable the artists there to find out and imitate, as a means of extending very much the sale of that article in China. The Chinese are yet so much behind Europeans in regard to many conveniences and luxuries of life, though far from being indifferent to the enjoyment of them, that the supply of such would swell the catalogue of articles likely to be called for. * * *

"I do not mention sugar as a permanent article of export from hence, because I trust your own territories will come to supply it in plenty as long as it will bear the freight of an East India voyage. Though I have seen numberless plantations of the sugar cane in the provinces of Chansi and Canton, and though it be sold at a price that will admit of considerable profit in Europe under the present state of St. Domingo,

which abounded with so much sugar, yet a considerable quantity is imported here from Cochin China, and especially from the Western coast of the island of Formosa, in which places consequently it must be still cheaper. The Chinese seem to understand the advantage of the division of labour in their great manufactures, by which means, though daily wages be not very much inferior to what they are in England, yet by always employing the same individual to one species or sub-division of work, the whole is perfected with a dispatch that reduces the price much below the apparent pains bestowed upon it, so that it is not improbable that any Chinese article of general manufacture, which would suit our taste, might be afforded upon terms that would admit of reasonable profit. I must observe further, that there seems no political prejudice to have existed here against the exportation of bullion, in return for acceptable imports; when, therefore, the rate at which it passes at Canton is such as to make it advantageous to accept it as a remittance, none of the risks or difficulties attendant upon drawing bullion from European nations are likely to take place on similar occasions in this country. Of all methods indeed

of procuring Chinese commodities on terms nearer to their original cost, none can certainly be so effectual, as that of our being allowed to send our ships in quest of them to the ports nearest to their growth. It must be confessed that it might be a dangerous experiment to take any advantage of that permission, if it had already been obtained, until such a subordination shall be established by law among the British sailors and subjects frequenting the Chinese ports, and such other precautions taken jointly by the administration and the company as may most effectually tend to prevent those disorders among our people which are likely to break out while left without control. The nearer such disorders happen to the capital of the empire, the more alarm they would excite and the more mischief they might occasion by some desperate resolution against our trading on the part of the Chinese government. But if the lower ranks of our people can be brought within proper regulations, so as not to offend the Chinese manners, and if some sort of connection is contrived to be established with the superior Mandarins, I am inclined to believe that it is within our power so to gain

gradually upon them as successively to obtain from them most of the advantages they have hitherto refused us. *I do not find that there is in fact any fundamental regulation of the empire prohibitory of foreign commerce with their northern ports.* Such a reason is put forward only to conceal the real motive which they do not choose avowing, and which is their apprehension, lest too great a communication with strangers should interfere with that profound tranquillity and that awful submission among all classes of men, the maintenance of which is in truth the ever present and only unalterable maxim of this government. *Those apprehensions will gradually give way before the personal good opinion which men in authority will learn to conceive of us when a familiar intercourse shall for any length of time be established with them.* I have succeeded in obtaining the Viceroy's permission to send in search of some of the tea plants of which I have now in my possession several young growing trees, as well as several seeds fit for growth, and I have got also some of the flowers, which are sometimes mixed, as I am assured, with the tea,

to increase its fragrance. Among your instructions you mention how extremely desirable it would be that the tea could be produced within the territories of the company in India, and you recommend the circumstance in the strongest manner to my attention.

"I send a tree of that species of mulberry, of which the leaves become the food of the silkworm in China. What that species was, has been a matter of some uncertainty, and any particular relative to the culture of silk in China, is become interesting to you on account of the improvement you desire in what your own territories produce. The tree is allowed in China to attain its full growth, and flourishes most in a flat and loamy soil, as the tea-tree seems to do on dry and rising grounds. I have employed a friendly Mandarin to make enquiries into every part of their silk manufacture, agreeable to the queries you enclosed to me; and I shall send the result to Sir John Shore, together with a few of the eggs of the Chinese silkworm, which I had some difficulty in obtaining, as the people who rear them have a superstition of losing the whole brood, if they part with the

smallest portion of them. I understand that a late celebrated naturalist of Sweden has asserted that the insect bred in Japan and China for the sale of its cocoons, is somewhat different from those who answer that purpose elsewhere. It may be useful to ascertain the fact, and the worm I send to Bengal will answer that purpose, as well as serve to propagate a new breed, if it should happen to be different from what is already reared there. After the pains which were taken to procure from our cotton and porcelain manufactures persons conversant in those branches, and who might have been capable of observing with what difference, either of improvement or inferiority, the same were carried on in this country, I am not surprised you should have supposed that I had the advantage of such persons with me in the embassy; but, notwithstanding my own, and the repeated applications of others to Manchester, and to the porcelain manufactories in Staffordshire and Shropshire, I was disappointed in my expectations, and I at last found that the failure arose in some degree from a jealousy, which arose in some men's minds of any tradesmen sent with

me remaining in China, and communicating some of the most valuable processes of their art, instead of returning home fraught with new lights from hence. I do not pretend to judge of the propriety of this cautious procedure, but it certainly deprived me of the assistance you were aware was necessary, to enable me to collect any very accurate or important information relative to those branches of manufacture in this country. Cotton is, indeed, an object of immense consumption in China, where it forms, generally dyed blue, the universal wear of the lower orders of the people, who add to its warmth in the winter by quilting shreds of wool between its folds, though in the colder provinces the skins of sheep, with their fleeces on, are used as an outer garment, for a greater shelter against the severity of the season. The Chinese account for the late increased demand for cotton from abroad, by the increased population of the country, and the supply of cotton cloth to their late extensive conquests; but they do not mention the exportation of any out of their own dominions, and their chief manufacture is of the coarser sort, unsuited to

foreign consumption. I hope to be able to send you specimens and prices of their different piece goods. Though there are plantations of cotton in most of the provinces in China, and many new ones, I am informed, lately undertaken, if I may judge from what I had an opportunity of observing in travelling through the country, its cultivation answers less the labour than in other parts of the world where I have seen it flourish. The plant is here of the diminutive species, called, I understand, the herbaceous cotton plant, very different from the cotton shrub of the West Indies, which answers best in a dry and sandy soil not distant from the sea, and where the periodical rains do not interfere with the time of the plant's flowering and expanding with full effect that downy substance adhering to the seed which constitutes the staple of the cotton. Those circumstances being less favourable in China, particularly in the interior provinces, the demand for that article from abroad, notwithstanding any efforts of the Chinese planters to cultivate a sufficiency at home, is not likely soon to cease. Of the earthen manufacture, I should without the assist-

ance of people bred to that business, have been able to give no minute or accurate account, even if the opportunity had been afforded me, but the Viceroy has been so good as to send a special messenger for specimens of the different materials used in the composition of porcelain, and if his orders have been punctually obeyed, those specimens which I shall forward to Sir Joseph Banks, with the view of having them compared under the eye of chemists and skilful artists, with the materials used in England for the same purpose, may afford an opportunity of judging if any improvement yet remains to be made in our own manufactures of the same kind. No inconsiderable quantities of China porcelain, together with other commodities of this country, are exported in their own vessels to Manilla, Borneo, and Batavia, and other places in the Chinese seas, principally for the consumption of their countrymen settled in those places, and whose industry and ingenuity contribute much to the prosperity of every place where they reside in numbers. Their vessels carry back spices of various kinds, and other productions of the warmer climates, and this

interchange forms the principal foreign commerce carried on by the Chinese in their own cottons, as far as I have been able to learn.

VIII.

The success of Lord Macartney's Embassy to Pekin in 1792. The results.

LORD MACARTNEY succeeded completely in his Embassy to China; the conduct of that mission deserved, and received, very great credit. At Canton, the representatives of the East India Company, who had watched it with the natural anxiety of men deeply interested in its success, but doubting its prudence, hailed its result with eager satisfaction. "The common opinion," they wrote to the Company at home, "is now refuted, that the Court of Pekin is inimical to foreigners, or difficult to be approached in a dignified and suitable manner, as the artifices and self-interest of the *mandarins* had suggested."*

* Records of the Board of Control, vol. 149, p. 79

Not the "mandarins" only in Canton, with whom the Company was in frequent adverse relations, but its representatives themselves, had, as Mr. Fitzhugh's letter above quoted (p. xxxii) shews, suggested that the Court of Pekin would not grant access to the northern part of Tsien-sin, and refused the easy approach to the capital from their port. The suggestion was specially founded upon the failure in 1759, when Mr. Flint, with more spirit than prudence, attempted a passage that way to the Emperor; and although there existed an interesting paper,* by a former member of Canton Board, Mr. Pigou, shewing clearly that the Court of Pekin was really open to proper diplomatic communication from the *Crown of England*, unreasonably difficult as it might be to secure intercourse with a body of merchants. Lord Macartney confirmed this opinion of Mr. Pigou, by insisting that this mission of 1759 would not have failed, if it had been conducted in "a dignified and suitable manner, by a royal ambassador as from sovereign to sovereign."

The records attest the readiness with which,

* Dalrymple's Repository, 1792, Vol. ii. p. 290.

in 1795, the foregoing communication for the friendly Viceroy of Canton, and the Court of Pekin, was sent by the King and our ministers at home.

His Lordship's arangement with the Viceroy of Canton was promptly adopted by the King; and fresh letters were despatched to China —one from his Majesty to the Emperor, another from Mr. Dundas, President of the Board of Control, to the Viceroy. The language of these letters is frank, and entirely in the spirit which had guided the embassy throughout. In reference to the delicate point of our aggressive progress in India, to which the Chinese on the side of Thibet looked with so much uneasiness, our assurances were solemn, that no apprehension ought to be felt on that head. Without doubt, at the date of that assurance, 1795, we were sincere. The statutory declaration of 1783 against Indian wars for territory was just renewed by the act of Parliament of 1793; and the lofty principles which had dictated that policy, still influenced us.

Before the death of Mr. Pitt, who had zealously sanctioned these wise measures towards China, as well as our improved Indian policy,

another communication of friendship was made with the Court of Pekin. Again the King wrote to the Emperor, and again the President of the Board of Control, Lord Castlereagh, addressed the Viceroy of Canton in terms of confidence and friendship, acknowledging the fidelity of the Chinese to their engagements, and earnestly asking for the continuance of their good will.

The King's letter to the Emperor stated his Majesty's "extreme desire that the same relations of peace and amity which existed with the Emperor's ancestor should continue;" and he acknowledged "the justice and kindness with which our people were treated in China."

The Emperor's reply to the King's letter of 1804 acknowledges the favour of the present—"We have received your gift, and will treat your merchants justly and kindly."

The words in his letter are translated as if a *tribute* from beyond sea was meant; but Sir John Barrow proves clearly that the expression is not used in an offensive sense; and on all other points the Emperor replied in a friendly

spirit to theKing's letter, which thus concluded:

"But other opportunities may offer for maintaining an amicable intercourse between us, as your Majesty, immediately before the departure of our late ambassador from the boundaries of your empire was pleased to convey to him your desire to have again a representative from us to China."*

In fact, all was hopeful in this quarter, and to the deaths of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, when Mr. Burke was gone, our own Indian and Chinese peaceful policy, of which they were the most powerful advocates, was little changed; and in 1807, just after their deaths, Sir John Barrow declared, in his biography of Lord Macartney, that to that time the Chinese had faithfully kept their treaty.

In India, however, a whole change was fast coming; and in the fresh acts of Parliament, renewing the East India Company's Charter, the self-denying provision against conquest disappeared. The French war and the struggle against

* The Record Papers in the Board of Control, Vol. 193.

Bonaparte brought their difficulties to affect our policy all over the globe; and our success in both flattered our pride without reviving the good resolutions of better days.

IX.

Lord Amherst's Embassy to Pekin, in 1816.

This mission, from its imperfect preparation, to its unsuccessful close down to the very wreck of the frigate which carried our ambassador to the Pehio, seems to have been under peculiar deficiencies. The head of the embassy, Lord Amherst, did not possess the great diplomatic and administrative talents of Lord Macartney; but he was not inferior to those who ordinarily preside in such cases, less by the recommendation of their personal merit, than by that of their station at home. If his Lordship was not the best informed, as he ought to have been, of all the members of his mission, upon the chief cir-

cumstances which were to determine its success, he appears to have exercised the prudent consideration for his advisers, calculated at least to make them sharers of his mistakes, and not likely to lead him into error by an obstinate confidence in his own insufficiency.

The members of the mission from the English Factory were men of rare experience, and unusual qualifications. Sir G. T. Staunton had, in Lord Macartney's embassy of 1792, twenty-four years previously, taken an honourable degree as a Chinese linguist, when a boy. In that capacity he had received from the Emperor of China marked kindness and no light proof of approval, and he had persevered ever since in successfully studying the language and constitution of China.

The Rev. Dr. Morrison also had already given proof of the high attainments in the literature of the country, which had gained for him an universal reputation.

Mr. Manning, one of the Company's agents at Canton, was well known for his familiarity with the speech and manners of the Chinese, among whom he meditated travels in the in-

terior, such as have since secured the highest reputation to Mr. Fortune and others.

The present Sir John Davis had already, by his diligent study of Chinese, got a reputation that removed all objections made, on account of his youth, to his being attached to the mission; and he has since fully justified the confidence thus placed in his linguistic acquirements.

Still there was exhibited, in the mismanagement of the embassy, strong evidence of its members, one and all, having got a false estimate of the Chinese character, and an insufficient acquaintance with the light in which the Chinese court looked upon such overtures from a powerful western state. It is obvious that Lord Amherst's embarrassments began by the slightness of his acquaintance with the proceedings of former diplomatic missions from European sovereigns to China. He was strongly inclined to give way to the urgent requisitions of the Court of Pekin in regard to the humiliating ceremony of the Ko-tou, by which we should have become objects of derision not only in China, but in other countries, as in France, when it was discovered that a precedent exists,

showing that an Emperor, distinguished in Chinese history, Kang-hi, had admitted the representative of Lewis XIV. upon terms of mutual and suitable respect. Everything in the particular case of Lord Amherst turned upon *precedent*. The great minister, Ho, with whom Lord Amherst had to treat on the point, said "that the ceremony could not in the smallest degree be dispensed with; that all nations performed it; that there was one Heaven above, and one Emperor upon earth, who was the universal master of all nations; none, therefore, could hold themselves exempt from the obligation of performing the homage required. We English had been treated with many favours and distinctions not accorded to other nations. As for the ceremony of the Ko-tou, it must absolutely be complied with." *

The Emperor of China *received* some of our presents, to show "we had parted in amity," † notwithstanding the difficulties attending the requirement of our ceremonial humiliation; and even that requirement would probably have

* The British Embassy to Pekin in 1816. By Sir G. T. Staunton. 8vo. 1824. p. 79. † Ib. p. 133.

given way to a judicious display of authorities which gainsaid the erroneous assertions of the Minister, Ho.

But neither our ambassador nor his advisers knew the strength of their position in the past history of China, or the dictates of human reason which prevail in every nation upon earth.

At the time of Lord Macartney's mission, great difficulties arose in consequence of our supposed aggressions from India towards the Thibet frontiers of China; and nothing will allay jealousies on that head except a persevering conformity to the peaceful and anti-aggressive declaration of the statutes of 1783 and 1793. On the present occasion, part of the difficulty arose from intrigues at Canton, and those jealousies * which the different nations of the West have long been too prone to indulge in, and which recently have not been without serious embarrassments.

But on both heads we are now opening a new era. The Queen's assumption of direct authority in India is accompanied by a

* The British Embassy to Pekin, p. 87.

solemn declaration against extending our territories there; and the resolution not to make any conquests in China, whatever may be done with a little island like Hong Kong, may be said to be a settled extension of that good principle to the far North-East.

If from 1793 this resolution had been repeated in the renewals of the East India Company's charter, and wisely acted upon, we should have escaped far graver evils than the mortification of our ambassador's most uncourteous repulse at Pekin.

X.

Gio Ghirardini's Residence in China in 1698.

WHAT our diplomatists in China, after Lord Macartney's embassy, lost for want of proper information respecting a French mission, which confirms the propriety of his Lordship's proceedings, and offers much to account for his

success, will be understood upon reading the accounts of that mission still extant.

A member of this French mission of 1698, an Italian painter of reputation, named Gio Ghirardini, wrote an account of his voyage to Canton in a private letter, thought at the time to be sufficiently interesting to be published in Paris.*

This letter contains a description of the usual troubles of the fresh-water voyager at the outset, with disquietudes belonging to the time, from pirates along the coast of Africa and in the eastern seas, as well as hazards of wreck in the Malayan and Chinese Archipelago. The intelligent artist, however, from sunny Italy, did not fail to find many compensations for his alarms, in the beauty of tropical waters and skies, and from the picturesque scenes of the islands threaded in this voyage.

Three passages from his letter are introduced at proper places, to illustrate incidents recorded in the sea-officer's more technical journal, on

* Relation du Voyage fait a la Chine sur le Vaisseau l'Amphitrite en 1698. Par le Sieur Gio Ghirardini, Peintre Italien, a Paris, 12mo. 1700. p. 71—94.

points which might well strike the imagination of the lively Italian. Another passage is here added in order to bring his impartial testimony in favour of the Chinese to support the object of the present volume, namely, to show that the friendly intercourse of that remarkable people with the western world, depends essentially on our sincere observance of every measure that ought to be introduced by both nations in furtherance of humane policy in the East.

Signor Ghirardini closes his letter with the following sketch of China and the Chinese, as he found both after leaving the ship at Whampoa:—

"On the 31st of October, at evening, I left the ship, my prison for the last eight months, and accompanied the Reverend Father Bouvet to Canton. All the honours of the royal service were displayed at our departure, crowned with three hearty *Vives le Roi!* Our boat was lighted up with two lanterns inscribed with the titles of the Reverend Father as the Emperor's Envoy. On our way, every military post by the river saluted us with discharges of their cannon, which are but little better than our musketry.

The Chinese, indeed, must be confessed to be by no means thunderbolts in war, and their forts made us smile. They are ludicrously like those little bulwarks a country curate raises round his garden; and you discover creeping over them two or three one-pounders, pointed high, for fear the discharge might do mischief. But the Chinese do not spare big words. The entrance into their river is guarded by two formidable castles called *Hou-mouen*, the Gates of the Tiger.

"At Canton I lodged in a *cong-koen* prepared for Father Bouvet. It is a sort of hotel appointed for the great Mandarins and the Emperor's envoys, who are provided with every necessary at the public expense.

"Their gongs and their wind instruments with which we were saluted morning, noon, and night, are somewhat too much like the baying of mastiffs and the mewing of cats, to be pleasant.

"Great honours are paid to Father Bouvet.

"Our Chinese repasts suit me, they are quite Italian. I manage the little sticks used at table as well as others do; but who would have thought of eating rice and green peas with two

pencils instead of a fork and spoon? One thing must be frankly admitted—our napkins should be introduced here; and it is really astonishing that people so cleanly and civilized as the Chinese, should suffer the bones and all the uneatable bits which we studiously keep upon our plates, to be laid upon the table.

"Canton is a vast city, full of great crowds, who are whipped off by guards when the mandarins pass through the streets. The streets are well paved, and covered with the finest shops, like a French fair. Neither carriages nor carts are to be met, but the rich are carried in sedans.

"All this falls short of Paris and Turin. Italy beats the Chinese sadly in all that concerns the fine arts. They know as little about architecture and painting as I do about Greek and Hebrew. They, however, greatly admire a fine drawing or a clearly-designed landscape in its natural perspective, but they have not the least notion how to do such things themselves; that is not their business. They can weigh silver, and cook rice; so they have eternally in their

hands the little sticks for the one, and their scales for the other.

"To sum up all in one word, the Chinese seem to me excellent people, polished, and highly civilized. Their dispositions are mild and peaceable. The servants are particularly docile, but not to be too much trusted. The great men are amiable and obliging. The viceroy and the Tsong-tou, his superior, have often visited Father Bouvet. The latter, especially, has shown me attentions I could not have expected. I know not how they behave to each other, but their treatment of us French has been kind without being troublesome.

"Our ship has been excused from the Customs. It is the first French ship come to Canton, and the first foreign ship ever so excused. The mandarins did us this favour before the Emperor's order arrived.

"His Majesty has signified his great impatience to see Father Bouvet; and the heir apparent, who is governor of Pekin, is delighted at our arrival. 'What,' he is reported to have exclaimed, 'what, have we a ship here from the King of France, with a mandarin to

command her?—such a thing never before happened in China.'

"At receiving intelligence from the Emperor by the hands of their great officers of state, Father Bouvet turned towards Pekin, and performed the ceremony of the Ko-tou, 'kneeling on both knees three times, and bending his forehead nine times to the earth.' One of the great officers, a Tartar mandarin, announced that 'the Emperor had resolved to have some of the newly-arrived Fathers about his person, and to send the others all over China, to preach the law of the Lord of Heaven.'

"The same Tartar mandarin, who spoke Chinese fluently, afterwards declared, in the presence of a numerous assemblage of the people, that the Emperor loved above all things virtue, and after that the fine arts, to improve his people.

"The ceremony of homage to the Emperor was repeated on this occasion.

"But when the commander of the French ship, the Chevalier de la Roque, came to offer his acknowledgments of all the honours and liberalities shown to him, *he was allowed to do*

so in the French way by three low bows. This distinction is a most extraordinary event here, and the French may be proud of being the only nation that can boast such a reception.

"The viceroy afterwards gave a banquet to our officers, when the Chinese observed the same ceremonies, *which the French were again excused from.* Even our merchants shared this liberality in relief to the amount of fifteeen thousand crowns of Customs, and in a permission for them to buy a house for their business.

"I am on the point of setting out for Pekin with Father Bouvet."

It is expected that further traces of the residence of Gio Ghirardini in China may be met with. So agreeable a correspondent must have been encouraged, to repeat his letters. During twenty years more, the intercourse of he Europeans in the interior of the country was encouraged, until the extravagance of the Jesuits occasioned their fall, only not so disastrously and completely as the misconduct of the Portuguese long before caused their expulsion from Japan.

XI.

Father Bouvet, the Jesuit, in China, 1698.

So much is here to be said of the proceedings of this eminent ecclesiastic in China as concerns the important ceremony of the Ko-tou. He was eminently qualified for his task of introducing the Chinese to our civilization. The northern languages, Chinese and Tartar, were familiar to him; and whilst his sagacity, science, and integrity had secured the entire confidence of the Emperor, his conciliating manners and good sense won universal respect. His account of the waiver of the humiliating ceremony in favour of the French officers, is stated in one of the *later* books of Sir John Francis Davis, who might with much advantage have become acquainted with the French mission of 1698, and its successful proceedings before he accompanied Lord Amherst from Canton on the embassy of 1816.

In the "Sketches of China," published in 1841 (vol. ii. p. 184), Sir John Davis says—

"A French ship of war, *L'Amphitrite*, was sent to Canton in 1699, under the command of the Chevalier de la Roque, to carry back the Jesuit, Père Bouvet, who had been despatched on a particular mission to France by the Chinese emperor. The ship, on her arrival, was exempted from duties and port charges, and the viceroy gave an entertainment to the commander, who, at the same time, was told that the Tartar prostrations would be rigorously required.

"As the thanksgivings," says the Jesuit Bouvet, "take place in China with certain ceremonies which savour of submission and homage, we represented that the captain of the ship, being an officer of the greatest and most powerful monarch of the West, who was accustomed to receive homage without rendering it to any one, could not perform the ceremony in the Chinese manner. The mandarins, who wished to do honour to our nation, and not to displease us, replied, that it would be sufficient if it were done in a manner creditable to both nations."

Few works respecting China and Japan are

more wanted than candid and complete narratives of the rise and fluctuating progress of the Papal Church in both countries, accompanied by a careful estimate of its present influence and prospects there.

XII.

British Antecedents to the French Mission of 1698. The Letters of King Edward the Sixth, in 1553, to the Emperor of Cathay.

THE success of the French was simply in harmony with earlier intercourse of western nations with China and Japan. The failure of the Portuguese in both countries was fully answerable to the character of their own conduct; and they had no just cause of complaint against the government or people of either.

The opening of our own communication with China under Edward the Sixth was laid upon grounds all will approve. The wisest and most philanthropic of our modern addresses to the Emperors of China, falls short in principle and in right feeling of the letter of King Edward to

the same potentate. All the circumstances of that incident in the young king's life are well worthy of consideration;—his personal interest in it as he was hastening to the grave at so young an age;—the career of its chief adviser, Sebastian Cabot, who cheered the departing adventurers by joining in a dance at eighty years of age, and the awful death of these adventurers in the ice of the north-east sea;—but it is, above all, to the wisdom and humanity of the principles of the letter from the Western king to his fellow sovereign of the East, that the most serious attention will be given.

The occasion and character of that address were not more remarkable than the long series of events which led to it. The Venetian, Marco Polo, and an English knight, Sir John Mandevile, had in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries displayed the wonders of the same China—real and fictitious—before our ancestors. The writings of the eminent travellers were more eagerly read than any other books of the time except the Holy Scriptures. The effect produced by those writings upon the enterprise and legislation of the west, deserves a special study.

With the decline of our crusades in the East, there succeeded an even more mischievous spirit in the west, which for nearly two hundred years ravaged it with wars abroad, and sanguinary dissensions at home. All Christendom seems at that time to have been passing, after great corruptions, through great trials, to prepare us for the revival of learning and of religion in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

For the renewal of such enterprizes towards the remotest countries of the earth, clear traditions pointed uniformly to the rich regions and cities made known by Marco Polo and Sir John Mandevile—their *Cathay* and its capital *Canbalu*. Columbus sought them by the west; and Cabot by the north-east, even fifty years later, when advising the young king to furnish the British voyagers of 1553 with the following most remarkable recommendations:—

Wishing "peace and honour to the kings, princes, and other potentates in the northern parts of the world toward the mighty Emperor of Cathay,"—King Edward declared that the great and Almighty God hath given to mankind, above all creatures, the heart and desire to good

friendship with other, to give and receive mutual benefits; and that, therefore, it is the duty of all to increase this desire by well deserving—especially to show this good affection to such as, being moved by the same desire, come to them from far countries. "The examples of our fathers," it is added, "invite us also thereto, having ever gently entreated such as came to them. If it be right to show kind humanity to all, the same should be chiefly so showed to merchants who scour the land and sea to carry profitable things from their own countries to remote regions, and bring therefrom things commodious for their own countries.

"The God of heaven and earth, greatly providing for mankind, would not that all things should be found in one region, to the end that one should have need of another, that by this means friendship might be established among all men, and every one seek to gratify all.

"For the furtherance of that universal amity, certain men of our realm," says the King, "have taken upon them a voyage by sea into far countries, to the intent that between our people and them a way may be opened to bring

in and carry out merchandize, desiring us to further their enterprise.

"So the King has assented to their petitions, that not only commodity may ensue to those connected with us, but also an indissoluble and perpetual league of friendship be established between us and you. Therefore, the kings and princes addressed are prayed to grant a free passage to the adventurers, who would do nothing against the good will of the people visited.

"Consider you," the King concludes, "*that they are men.* If they stand in need of any thing, we desire you of all humanity, and by the nobility that is in you, to help them with what they lack, receiving from them the things they can give you in recompense. Show yourselves towards them as you would that we and our subjects should show ourselves to your servants, if at any time they should pass by our regions.

"Thus doing, we promise you by the God of all things in heaven, earth, and the sea, and by the life and tranquillity of our kingdom, that we, with like humanity, receive your servants, coming to our kingdom. They shall be so

gently entertained as if born in our dominions."*

The dreadful fate of this expedition by the death of Sir Hugh Willoughby, its commander, and his men in the ice, only anticipated its failure from a miscalculation of the distance of Cathay, and from the then unknown difficulties of the north-east passage. It was not until a few years later that the identity of Cathay with China, and of Canbalu with Pekin, was established. This is shown in an interesting "*News-letter*" of Lord Carew,† in 1576, to Sir Thomas Roe, then residing at the Court of the Great Mogul. That news-letter from a secretary of state—one of a series, intended, it is hoped, to be soon published—explains the interior trade between India and Pekin, and so corrects the geography of the east from the most authentic materials then extant. From this perfect discovery of China arose new enterprizes thither; and in 1583, Queen Elizabeth addressed another letter in the same terms with King Edward's, to propitiate the Emperor of China.

* Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 257.

† State Paper office, Domestic Elizabeth. Mr. Lemon's Calendars.

In the thirteenth century, Genghis Khan, the first Tartar conqueror of that empire, and his successors, had spread alarm over Europe by threats of invasion ; and with Tamerlane at a later age, the danger seemed to recur. Committing the highest crimes with the impunity which make all conquerors scourges, they possessed great qualities, and adopted much of the ancient institutions of China from their conquered subjects. In those days, the *prejudice of colour* nowhere prevailed, however barbarous Europe then was in many other respects ; and we might, with no extreme difficulty, have entered into relations of perfect equality with our fellow-men in the further East. So the address of King Edward is by no means in the spirit of a superior to an inferior, as white men—even *religious* white men—are at this moment disposed to treat all Asiatics. That address is in the spirit which so nobly prevailed among us towards the end of the last century, when the statutes were passed by Parliament against territorial aggressions in India ;—a spirit revived of late, after half a century of reaction in violating our first duty, and to the perilling of our best interests.

XIII.

The Law of Administrative Justice in China.

THERE are strong tendencies at this moment among us, towards a thorough reformation in our administrative establishments. The attacks made upon the Privy Council, thirty years ago, by Sir James Graham and others, began this modern reformation; and in 1852 the Earl of Derby's ministry announced their intention to advise the appointment of a royal commissioner, with the support of Parliament, to carry out a work not to be long delayed with impunity. Under these circumstances, a short notice of the administrative institutions of China in contrast with our actual practice, will be acceptable. That practice is extensively a gross abuse; but in principle also we have something to amend in our state proceedings, for which the Chinese books furnish good models.

The recent plan of examining only privileged candidates for the public service, is a substantial instalment as a system to open that service to

the best man; and then to secure their fit treatment and promotion. But that plan does not suppress illegal patronage, inasmuch as favour, and it may be "brocade," can still be used in settling the lists of candidates for employment. Still less does it pretend to provide for the subsequent stages of the service, either in regard to advancement or reward for approved merit, or to removal for proved incompetency, or to the redress of official grievances. Yet all official records abound in cases urgently calling for a better system to place the public administration under reasonable conditions of efficiency to the nation, and security to individuals.

The ancient laws of China, which enjoin that personal merit shall be the sole step to administrative employments, need not be insisted upon; nor the test of literary examination, by which that personal merit is ascertained. In Sir George Staunton's translation of a code of the Chinese administrative laws, there are other regulations admirably adapted to our own system of government, inasmuch as the provinces of the empire to which those regulations apply, bear strong analogies to the dependencies grouped round the realm of England, from the conquest of Ireland

by Strongbow to the acquisition of our numerous colonial and Indian possessions.

"If," says the Chinese lawgiver, "any officer of the State solicit place or employment, he shall be punished with one hundred blows."

Again:—"Civil officers not distinguished by great services, recommended to the Emperor, shall suffer death with the persons who recommend them."

Again, provision is made for the redress of individual grievances for which we have no remedy except at the *discretion* of ministers:—"When," says the law of China, "any officer of government is injuriously treated by his superior, he is at liberty to submit a faithful statement to the Emperor as accusation of such superior."

A like provision is found for cases of general mal-administration, whereas with us a denouncer of public abuses is a marked man, whom public delinquents understand perfectly how to destroy. "Whatever is erroneous," says the law referred to, "in the general administration of public affairs, shall be inquired into, and the result personally communicated to the Emperor by the officers of the six departments of State."

How confidently the experienced British merchants in Canton relied upon the effect of these ancient Chinese laws is evident from the perseverance with which these merchants sought the benefit of them for the redress of their own administrative grievances.

The provincial authorities in Canton habitually injured our traders by arbitrary *administrative* acts. A chief object of Lord Amherst's embassy was to obtain a guarantee against their repetition, by access to the Emperor, respecting which Sir George Staunton's remarks are clear and positive on the head in question.

"One of the questions to be brought under the notice of the Emperor, connected with the commercial intercourse between the two countries, was the establishment of a direct channel of communication between the chief of the English factory (at Canton) and one of the supreme tribunals at the Emperor's court, through which an appeal might always be made to Pekin, against any act of injustice which his Britannic Majesty's subjects trading to Canton might experience from the provincial officers. The reasonableness of this proposition was evident. The Emperor had always professed to extend his re-

gard and protection to foreigners; *and nothing was now desired on their behalf, than what was already according to the Chinese laws, enjoyed by the meanest of the Emperor's own subjects, who had a legal right of appealing from one tribunal to another, up to the highest, and ultimately to the throne itself.*"*

Sir George Staunton has recorded a solemn adjudication of the Emperor in his own time, carrying beyond the grave the legitimate respect enjoined to personal merit by the laws of China; and showing under what severe responsibility the provincial authorities discharge their duty on that head. In China there is a law, that "the names of all natives of a district, whose merits, character, or services during their lives, had entitled them to the honour, should be enrolled on certain tablets, as the temple of Confucius—the hall of worthies."

At Canton, says Sir George Staunton, a most remarkable instance occurred of the opposition that may be made to an undue award of this honour. In 1812, a mandarin obtained it for

* Proceedings during the British Embassy to Pekin, in 1816. By Sir G. T. Staunton. 8vo. 1824. p. 97.

his brother, a Hong merchant, who had died most respected. He effected it by money and personal influence at Pekin. At Canton, however, the *literary class* murmured at the introduction of a name which they considered unworthy of a place in the illustrious list recorded in the temple. One individual, a graduate, took up the cause with the hottest zeal.

"After urging arguments to prove the Hong merchant deficient in the required qualification, and failing to induce the Viceroy of Canton to rescind the nomination, he printed and circulated his petition. The affair then made so much noise, that a revision of it by the Emperor was secured; and in 1815 the tablet was solemnly ejected from the temple."*

This is a meagre catalogue of most salutary administrative regulations doing honour to Chinese legislation. But it is enough to throw our practice into the shade, and to excite strong curiosity to obtain fuller details upon a system which probably is the cause of durability in a body of institutions respected by one fourth of

* Proceedings during the Embassy to Pekin, in 1816. By Sir G. T. Staunton. 8vo. 1824. p. 345.

the human race from the time when our own British forefathers were painted barbarians, and Greece and Rome not yet aspiring to rule the world.

XIV.

The corruption of opinion, and of our home colonial administration from 1806 to 1858. Convict colonies. Conquests. Colonial patronage. Illegal delegation of authority by the Colonial Secretaries. The Colonial Office. Despotism in our Colonial Government. Ignorance and intrigues of the Colonial Office; and its admitted incapacity legitimately to extend our colonies. The Privy Council. The struggle of the free Colonial spirit from 1825 to 1858.

THE pitiable failure of Lord Amherst's mission sprang from causes which lie deep in the maladministration of our affairs beyond sea during the last fifty years, and which are now in considerable activity. The firmness of Sir George Staunton and his colleagues at Canton, saved us from the national disgrace to which the ambassador's eagerness to submit by the

performance of the *Kotou*, must have exposed the British name in China. We seem at that time to have lost the spirit and personal resources in our representatives of the crown abroad, which had for ages distinguished them so worthily in the most highly civilized courts, and among the rudest foreign chiefs. Even our literature at the beginning of the century abounds in evidence discreditable to the national feeling on the subject of China. The life of Mr. Pitt, by Giffard, is a prodigious monument of two thousand elephant folio pages, intended to commemorate all that in the judgment of the zealous biographer could do honour to the deceased minister; but not one laudatory word can be found upon that minister's noble efforts to redeem our good name in the east. The China missions, so perseveringly and so well pursued for eighteen years, are not even mentioned by Mr. Giffard, who took a lead in abandoning the high ground won by Lord Chatham and his followers on this head.

In another work of a very different character, the writings of Peter Pindar, which so long enjoyed disgraceful popularity, every topic is rudely

pressed against those enlightened missions; whilst their utter failure is predicted with a hardihood only commensurate to the historical shallowness of the work, and the gross vulgarity of the intended satire. We may smile at the extravagancies of the doggrel Pindar, to whom our judicious Punch is as superior in ability as in taste; but that a sober historian and acute writer like Mr. Giffard should have passed the *three* Chinese missions of his period over in silence, indicates a deplorable indifference to what, at this moment, is clearly perceived to have been a decisive means of largely advancing civilization in the world. Such gross ribaldry on the one hand, and grosser neglect on the other, is much attributable to the bad habit of official secrecy. If the successful Chinese Embassy of 1792 had been duly described to parliament in the way enjoined by Lord Somers for such events even a century before, its chief incidents must have become well known.

But those symptoms of a diseased press bore upon great administrative corruptions at that time fast growing up in the country, and which by too long endurance have spread wide in

society, and taken singularly mischievous forms.

A better result was reasonably to be expected, when great experience seemed to have exhausted all the evil contingencies belonging to the constitutional conditions of our Indian and colonial systems of government up to the end of the eighteenth century.

Lord Macartney, a model of provincial rulers, had witnessed in America the course and consequences of colonial misgovernment. In India he was faultless; he had won golden opinions in a minor presidency, and was intended to be promoted to the supreme authority of Calcutta, when diverted to his successful mission to Pekin. He closed this admirable career at the Cape of Good Hope, with an administration not distasteful to the conquered Dutch, and so humanely addressed to the border barbarians as to establish treaties of peace when all was confusion in the interior. He even brought most hopefully under observation the barbarous Caffre chiefs, who for fifty years since have offered to our view one of the hardest of social problems, namely, how their peaceful and improving inter-

course with more civilized men can be well secured.

The way had been prepared for receiving this people into fitting relations with us, by the reports of enlightened impartial travellers, such as Le Vaillant and Sparrman; whilst Baron Von Hogendorp, afterwards Governor-General of Dutch India, had given a glowing picture of what a wise administration at the Cape of Good Hope might accomplish in its settlements bordering on the Caffres in the interior.

Lord Macartney's principle of shaping our relations with such neighbours by the rules of justice, went far to solve this problem.

But no such simple measure of justice was to be followed for the half century following Lord Macartney's decease, when our colonial ministers gradually became entangled in a maze of secret and parliamentary influences, and when they submitted the Colonial Office, of which they were nominal heads, to unscrupulous violations of long-established constitutional usages.

The unchecked single Secretary of State for the Colonies, set up since 1784, was then a complete novelty among us. Cromwell's Coun-

cil of Plantations was composed of appointed statesmen and delegates elected by London and other trading towns. Lord Clarendon's similar council in 1660 was formed of statesmen named by the crown, and of delegates elected by the City of London and several London companies. The order in council summoning this body is preserved in the library of the City of London in Guildhall.* Sir William Temple's scheme of plantation government in London in 1670, was simply a committee of the Privy Council, named, of course, by the crown. Copies of the commission, and important instructions for its guidance, are preserved in the British Museum ; and extracts from them were published in the report of the Committee of the House of Commons, which enquired into the state of our Colonial Aborigines in 1835, 6, and 7. After the revolution, in 1696, when Parliament pressed hard for a more popular Council of Plantations than had been set up by Charles the Second, King William, in some jealousy for the prerogative, persevered in that plan of exclusive nomination of the Council by the crown. But among the mem-

* Appendix.

bers of this board are found Lord Somers, John Locke, and Matthew Prior, and no one at that time would have borne a sole Secretary of State to rule the Colonies. What nobler subject, indeed, could an historical painter take than King William the Third's Board of Plantations graced by such men, busy in examining Dampier and Lionel Wafer upon the capability of Darian for the settlement, which the Scots had planned so boldly under the guidance of William Paterson, but which the English coveted.

This Board held out for eighty years against all seductions. It fell at last under its own grievous errors, which helped bring on the American revolution.

All that time, as at all times, the Crown was at the head of our Colonial administration, subject to Parliament, and with proprietary grantees in high authority. The Secretary of State for the South was Colonial minister with the Lords of Trade in effect for his council; so absurd were the objections made last year to the India Bill on the ground of novelty in its provisions for a council to the Indian Secretary of State.

Secrecy, however, had become a fatal official rule; and Horace Walpole's ludicrous description of the accumulation of unread Colonial despatches in the Duke of Newcastle's hands for some twenty years, throws a clear light upon the way by which a corrupted administration was then preparing for us the disastrous events of 1776 in America.

In matters of justice to individual appellants to the Crown, nothing could be better settled than the proceedings in such appeals at the Cock-pit. It was ever in the discretion of the Crown, at the advice of a Minister, to refer the petitions to the Privy Council; but the refusal of a reference was understood to be unconstitutional; and if any obstacle impeded a hearing of the appellant, Parliament habitually interposed, as the journals, as well as the register of the Council, abundantly testify. The most eminent names among our lawyers for a century, from Somers and Jones down to Yorke and Murray, are guarantees to the dignity of those proceedings; and the Colonial agents of those days were colonists and statesmen of historical name, such as Franklin and Edward Burke. How

long and how firmly correct principles prevailed at the Privy Council on this head, will be understood by those who have not forgotten that Sir William Grant, the Master of the Rolls, and Sir William Scott, Lord Stowell, closed their honoured career as active members of it.

The fall has been complete from an order of things which, with all its faults, was a rule of the colonies by ministers deliberately advised by statesmen of various eminence; and which the Cromwells, the Clarendons, and the Somers of six generations moulded with various effect. Instead of that constitutional rule, we have set up a colonial office of permanent under-secretaries and clerks—sometimes with a lawyer to advise, sometimes with none; and the single Secretary of State for the Colonies has armed the whole with a degree of inefficiency that would be incredible, did we not know that from Mr. Huskisson to Sir Bulwer Lytton, the colonial business of this country has for thirty years been frittered away in the hands of twenty-seven members of Parliament, one after another, without any of them pretending to a competent knowledge of colonial affairs. They have all been

in the hands of three or four under-secretaries, or clerks, who, as was declared truly in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's financial statement of 1852, stand in the way of the best improvements of our policy. A few cases will show the enormity of the evils produced by a system which gives to men much out of sight the conduct of immense affairs, not subject to any direct opinion at home, and to which Parliament has a distaste near to loathing. These are cases within the personal experience of the editor of this journal; and, doubtless, they fall much short in force of what better-informed persons could produce.

The fate of the Indians of America has ever deeply interested us. The appeal of the Mohicans, which was pending for seventy years in the Privy Council, in the reigns of our three first Hanoverian sovereigns, at least proved the perseverance with which their presumed rights were investigated before that tribunal. Divines never wearied of advocating the cause of the Indians of the Plantations; and poets made them heroes, however administrations might neglect them. At the end of the American

war of 1812, the Indian department of the Canadas was the occasion of a liberal expenditure, often abused, and capable of improvements, in which, with economy, the interests of our numerous Indian pensioners might have been much consulted. Upon the occasion of an appeal by the Mohawks against gross injustice respecting their land in Upper Canada, a thorough reform of the whole Indian department was resolved upon by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Honourable Dr. Stewart, afterwards Bishop of Quebec, examined the plan with great care, and gave it his warm approval. All was settled for its execution; but the measure found opponents in *the Colonial Office;* and was abandoned, to the extreme damage of the public interests, which thus gave way to a continuance of the old system of jobs.

In another part of our colonial world, a commission of inquiry, and an able commissioner, Mr. John Thomas Bigge, produced in 1824 a plan of legal government by act of Parliament in the place of proceedings for the previous thirty years, of which illegality and discontent were the chief features in the settlement. But the Co-

lonial Office thwarted this reform by excusing the torture of converts, ordering the military execution of black natives, and sheltering from condign punishment a governor deficient in all the qualities required in the ruler of such a colony.

In New Zealand, the same Colonial Office stretched the plainest doctrines of international law out of their propriety, in order to give that British colony to France; and the intrigue must have succeeded, but for the energy of a few enterprising individuals, who saved the honour of the country when it was shamefully sacrificed by one of its own departments.

The Colonial Office hated the founders of the New Zealand enterprise. Their success was to be a sure signal of a colonial reformation that would thoroughly sweep that office of its evil spirits. So those evil spirits intrigued with the mistaken supporters of the missionary bodies, and with the habitual partisans of ministers; and so defeated a better colonising bill than had, perhaps, ever been submitted to Parliament; as it contained a regard for all interests; and carefully provided for the guardianship of the deceived

philanthropists for the natives, as well as for the prudent application of the new modes of colonisation to the settlement.

But it is in South Africa that the Colonial Office has done, and is at this moment doing, the most frightful wrong; and that upon a deliberate, mischievous principle, which Parliament is bound, by every sense of duty, to bring under the most rigorous scrutiny; for not only is the principle referred to adverse to universal right, but it is opposed to the decisions of Parliament itself.

The contrast between the South Africa of Lord Macartney, with its fair prospects of every good upon the Caffre borders, and the frightful ruin the Colonial Office has brought upon these borders, and is carrying far and wide into the interior, among an hundred tribes, makes the heart sink.

It is the work of just twenty-two years' false policy stealthily pursued by the Colonial Office; but of which the ministers whose names have sanctioned it must bear the reproach, so far as ministers are grievously guilty who leave their duties to their subordinates.

Upon several points comparatively only less important than the affairs here referred to, the Colonial Office had misled the Colonial Secretaries who blindly trusted to it.

Lord John Russell was thus misled to exclude South Africa from our fields of colonisation—as if it were a region of unprofitable deserts. Yet Sir John Barrow and other sage authorities well understood its capabilities; and Lord John Russell may now be aware that the export of *fine wool* alone, last year, from South Africa, was twenty *millions* of pounds weight! Again, the Earl of Derby, at a time when promptitude might have given peace and a beginning of union to the distracted interior, dependant on the pacification of Natal, was made to sign a despatch declaring that he had not sufficient information upon the country and its inhabitants to form the proper measures to meet the case. Yet, at that very moment, the shelves of the Colonial Office were groaning under the best information upon every doubtful point in the Natal and Cape Interior case—which it had never suited the Colonial Office to lay before Parliament.

The crowd of the like instances of neglect that could be produced, are utterly insignificant before the matter of our TREATIES with the South African tribes, and that of the spread of our people into a fruitful interior to the tropics, in harmony with those tribes.

A thick volume might be filled with reasonable South Africa treaties, and the diplomacy that preceded them. They constitute, beyond all doubt, an important element in the civilization of men.

In 1836, a body of such treaties settled an immense difficulty on the Caffre frontier, under the able management of the most experienced Cape-born officer, Sir Andries Stockenstrom, whose merit obtained for him the rare distinction of a baronetcy as a reward of his long and faithful services to the Crown. Up to that time there might be differences of opinion respecting the terms of particular treaties with the Caffres, if the reports of our officers did not always give the words which the chiefs insisted upon, as the true conditions of their agreements. But to reject all treaties with the barbarians whatever, was never hinted at until the year 1837,

after Sir Andries Stockenstrom's remarkable success. His mission took place pending the sitting of the Aborigines' Committee of the House of Commons. And the friends of progress made common cause in support of the humane principles he acted upon. The draft of the committee's report made in its third year, faithfully embodied those principles as resolutions, and provided most wisely for enforcing them in all the colonies. That draft, however, was tampered with in the Colonial office; and whilst its recommendation of treaties with the barbarians was suppressed, the missionaries were inveigled into the position of political agents, so as to destroy their genuine missionary character, and make them tools of the Colonial Office.

Such an act as the misdealing with the draft report of the Commons' committee, was less an abuse of the imprudent confidence of that committee, than a fraud upon Parliament and upon the cause of philanthropy which Parliament at that time sincerely supported; and it is not too late to scrutinize the grounds upon which this charge is made. A practical reaction followed

immediately upon the occurrence; and if the remarkable circumstances of the time rendered the philanthropists helpless against the blow struck at their cause, we are now in a condition to make a profitable searching inquiry into the delinquency. The men who were the most abused in this business,—the numerous class of ministers to whom the colonies are given for their brief trusts—have begun to open their eyes upon the intrigues of the colonial office, and may join a vigorous movement to clear it of every abomination.

Sir Andries Stockenstrom's noble mission was suppressed; and Parliament kept in the dark for ten whole years upon South African interior affairs. Two Caffre wars were brought upon us at the cost of millions sterling, inaudited to this day. So we have conquered the Caffres, and got their country at a price five-fold its intrinsic value, to give away to our settlers.

The same thing, substantially, is doing upon a neighbour frontier, even more interesting, if possible, than that of the Caffres. This is the frontier of the Basootus, who, under an able chief, Moshesh, and most enlightened French

Protestant missionaries, have much advanced in the power, as well as in other attributes of civilization.

Their case is at present at the climax of difficulty, and needs no further notice than to give breadth to the following explanations of the proceedings of the Colonial Office in these important affairs.

The present governor of the Cape has betrayed the secret when assuring the Colonial Office that *he* has no desire to make TREATIES with barbarous chiefs; and he says this after getting into our Colonial prisons a crowd of those chiefs, with whom our treaties were solemn as the oldest recorded in Holy Writ, and after our breach of those treaties has plunged the Caffre people into the deepest distress.

The Governor's assurance plainly refers to orders he had received from the Colonial Office; and we know that hostility to treaties of this character was declared by that office in its improper interference with the report of the Aborigines' Committee of the House of Commons in 1837; as we also know that the suppression of Sir Andries Stockenstrom's mission of that

time, was attributable to intrigues fostered by that office, which at last succeeded in throwing the Caffre frontier into the confusions leading to the present unhappy results.

Here are grave charges to be made good whenever Parliament shall resume its bounden protectorate over the interior of South Africa, and stay the crying abuses of that region.

The Colonial Office has taken care to avert the legitimate control so long exercised over its acts by the Privy Council. In the case of New South Wales above set forth, the illegalities of the Governor were withstood with great moderation by the Attorney-General. Therefore the office ruined him, and defeated his appeal to the Privy Council, first by making the Secretary of State assert in the House of Commons that the case had been heard and settled in the Privy Council against the complainant, whereas there was no hearing of the case there at all, and no condemnation. Afterwards, when the case was going to the House of Lords, a reference of it to two Peers was agreed to by the Secretary of State, but upon the two Peers awarding a considerable sum of money to the complainant

against the crown; the Colonial Office persuaded the minister not to acquiesce in that ward. Lastly, when the Queen referred a petition in the case to the Privy Council by the advice of Mr. Secretary Walpole, the Colonial Office opened its opposition by impounding the petition itself, so that no legal action could be taken upon it; and now that the record is got back, with much perseverance, into the Privy Council Office, the clerks of the council insist that the board has no jurisdiction in the case, although they themselves declared before that a solemn judgment was once given against the complainant upon a solemn hearing of it!

The truth is not to be disguised. The Privy Council is become an offset of the Colonial Office, and the Secretaries of State have long been its agents. Hence the scandal of such proceedings as the foregoing. Ministers have lost the habit of doing *justice* in individual cases; never thinking of *hearing* a complainant when their impressions are against him. To what monstrous injustice this must lead, needs no proof, or how much it encourages vice. Well, indeed, did Sterne prove his knowledge

of human nature, when he drew the warning to "Poor Yorick" against the works of *malice*. "Revenge from some baneful corner shall level a tale of dishonour at which no innocence of heart or integrity of conduct shall set right. The fortunes of thy house shall totter. Thy character shall bleed on every side. Thy works belied — thy learning trampled upon. Trust me, Yorick, says his friend, when, to gratify a private appetite, it is at once resolved upon that an innocent and helpless creature shall be sacrificed, 'tis an easy matter to pick up sticks enough from any thicket, to make a fire to offer it up with."

The sagacious Jeremy Bentham, who drew his views of the Colonial Office from other traditions, and from the minutes and details of its doings recorded in the early history of New South Wales, expressed the same judgment in another form, when he said that according to the corrupt system begun to be set up in his early days, "the best-grounded Colonial appeals, weakened by the remoteness of the colonies, meet with the most treacherous evasions in the cabinet of the minister. There are,

too many ways to deceive him, and give intrigue its triumph."

Happily we British people are not for ever to be the objects of such abuses. Individuals may be their victims, but public indignation at length defeats the basest intrigues. In the present case a struggle from about 1825 has ended in establishing free constitutions in all directions, and this nation has crushed the attempts of the Colonial Office to perpetuate despotism in the colonies. Moreover, we have burst the bonds with which that office long sought to bind down our colonization. The insolence, too, of the chief agent in these abuses, has betrayed him into the avowal of principles so immoral, and into legal and historical oversights so glaring, that it is in no sanguine spirit we anticipate a speedy and thorough reformation in the home administration of our colonies. We shall never hear more of sending our convicts thither, after their rejection by every denomination of colonists in South Africa. Nor after the universal satisfaction with which Dr. Livingston's efforts have been received for the civilization of the people he has visited, will it be tolerated that the means

of improving the more southern countrymen of those Africans by the just execution of reasonable treaties, shall be rejected because the Colonial Office is incapable of carrying them out.

Above all, the British people will reject with scorn, when thoroughly understood, an influence which, after a domination of thirty years, has declared to the government, in order to stand in the way of the claims of *merit*, that this world of ours is ruled by "good luck." Christianity has cast down the Goddess Fortune from an hundred thrones. Her worship, indeed, still clings to our weakness, and pervades our vulgar speech; but the deliberate restoration of it in high places in the nineteenth century is an impossibility.*

So the day of sciolists and impostors will not much longer sway the prodigious destinies of Britain beyond the seas. They may hold on by unholy ties where the indolence of our ministers gave them illegitimate resting-places, but their moral influence is gone, and we can wait in patience their disappearance from society

* See an address to the Lords of the Treasury, signed James Stephen, published in Papers on the Reorganization of the Civil Service, 1855, p. 74.

now that their evil principles are known, and since wholesome changes of policy are certain in the beautiful regions of this earth which they have desecrated.

XV.

British Conquests, or British Commerce in China.

WHETHER it is visionary to or not suppose that the institutions of China have had any influence upon Europe in other times, it is not to be doubted that the power and superior civilization of Europe will henceforward decidedly advance or retard the well-being of China; and it is a matter of which the importance cannot be exaggerated, to settle the principles correctly by which our policy there shall be guided.

A numerous body among us advocate conquests in China, and the notion has not the merit of novelty. Allusions have already been made to Lord Clive's plan to carry out in that country his daring scheme of eastern domina-

tion; and to Sir Home Popham's proposal to sack Pekin. Religious men are not wanting to favour something very like those designs, by encouraging modern pretensions of a pseudo Anglo-Saxon race to procure its civilization at the bayonet's point from Calcutta to every region between the Bay of Bengal and the Yellow Sea. During two years many tried hard to induce the United States to swallow up *their* western world—British North America being scarcely excepted from the plan—provided they would let us quietly annex the whole east, meaning especially, along with India,—China, Tartary and Japan, with as many of the Asiatic islands as we may lay our hands upon.

There is reason to fear that the instigators of the last Chinese war had these modest doings in view, although they were too cautious or too timid to go so far in written engagements. Lord Elgin says he had confidential instructions, which seem too much opposed to the specific orders given to Colonel Cathcart and to Lord Macartney by Mr. Pitt, not to be looked at with extreme suspicion. The conquests making by the French in Cochin China upon their own account, little

as those conquests are likely to profit them, justify the demand of the fullest explanations on the subject of our first operations in China. Are we prepared to set up filibustering in those seas with the pretence of a "manifest destiny," of which we quickly denounce the iniquity, when our business is to mark the mote in our brother's eye? The thing is manifestly spreading fast, when a cold speculator upon politics like the writer in the "Saturday Review," closes his apology for the filibusters of the United States, by declaring that "with Asia, Africa, and Australia open to colonization, and *occasional conquests*, England may reasonably relinquish to a kindred nation the pursuit of aggrandizement in South America. The task of maintaining the balance of power in Europe is burthensome enough, without the further enterprize of erecting a *non-existing* equilibrium in the west."*

Parliament once solemnly adopted a nobler principle for the pole-star of British policy beyond sea. The "wishes" of the people of these islands were then declared to be adverse to territorial aggression, especially in the east. To this

* Saturday Review, 1858, p. 636.

declaration we must cling, and work it out worthily.

About the time of the passing of the first act of Parliament in which that declaration was made, the Anglo-American, who, of all others, was entitled by his success as a soldier, to indulge in the dreams of ambition, devoted himself with the zeal of a true patriot to pursuits of peace, and studiously repudiated whatever could divert him and his countrymen from these pursuits. "The more," said General Washington, to an English correspondent, Arthur Young,—" the more I am acquainted with agricultural affairs, the better I am pleased with them. I can nowhere find so great satisfaction as in these innocent and useful pursuits. With these feelings I am led to reflect how much more delightful to an undebauched mind is the task of making improvements on the earth, than all the vain glory which can be acquired by ravaging it in the most uninterrupted career of conquerors."*

Whatever the Earl of Elgin's discretion may

* Letters from his Excellency General Washington to Arthur Young, Esq., F.R.S., containing an account of his Husbandry. London, 1801, 8vo. p. 16, A.D. 1788.

have been in other respects, it is just to his lordship to rest upon his declaration to the merchants of Shanghae in January, in favour of moderate counsels, after the *legitimate* wars of force and diplomacy have been exhausted. The question then remains to be settled, how we shall best carry out practically, what, in the abstract, is approved by the wisest; and it is great gain to find the letter of our statute law in harmony with the injunctions of our religion, which, if it do not prohibit the soldier's trade, has proclaimed its own mission to be to bring peace upon earth and good will among men.

To this it is a triumphant commentary, that the ordinary ways of commerce tend to establish an universal respect for peace, and to produce benefits in which all can largely share;—whereas the forcible occupation of territory generates hostile feelings rarely appeased until after ages of enmity, and often the occasion of fresh ruinous wars.

If, as may be reasonably hoped, our fixed determination shall be to reject territorial aggression as a means of our progress in China; and

if in future any war with that country shall be avoided by us as we would eschew what we hold to be fatal to our national well-being, and opposed to our most urgent duty, a few grave questions must be settled before we can hope to place our commercial relations with the Chinese upon a proper footing. The opium trade presents the first great difficulty in the case. The amount of profit to be given up by us by agreeing to the reasonable demands of the Chinese government, is more than *five millions* sterling per annum. It does not, however, follow that the upright sacrifice of this *Indian* revenue will not have compensations; and the instructions of the President of the Board of Control, in 1787, to Colonel Cathcart when setting out for Pekin, cannot be without weight even now. "If," says the Minister of George the Third, "the Chinese government insists upon our abandoning opium smuggling, we must yield."*

A great compensation was once offered us to help suppress the use of opium. Commissioner

* See these instructions in the Appendix.

Lin, who must have been sincere, and have had good grounds for saying so, declared, that if we would but support his government in that object, and obey the law, "our trade should be more flourishing than ever."* To the profit to arise from this source, must be added the advantage of giving a better cultivation to the parts of India where there is at present a privileged growth of opium, to the general injury.

Other difficulties, and very grave ones, have been raised by American writers upon the occasion of our late treaties with China. Those writers insist, that the conditions of the treaties, especially the conditions of Lord Elgin's of Fieutsin, must ruin the commercial resources and the finances of the Chinese. This is said reproachfully to us, but at the same time our transatlantic brethren are told by those of their countrymen who make the charge, that they must unhesitatingly share the profit for which the British are stipulating at the point of the

* On the Life of Lin, by Sir John Bowring.—Transactions of the Chinese Royal Asiatic Society, Art. VII.—Hong Kong, 8vo. 1852.

bayonet, and disregard the iniquity of the proceeding. Under such circumstances, the only remedy is to fall back upon the high-minded principles to which Lord Elgin alluded before his recent success, and to be guided by a rule of conduct which shall override all temporary incidents, when we are laying foundations of a friendly and mutually beneficial intercourse for ages.

XVI.

Christianity in China.

THE record of the primitive testimony to the credit of our fathers, "How those Christians love one another!" is assuredly less the record of a fact we may dwell upon with becoming pride than the declaration of a duty none can fail in without a deep responsibility. Christians in China, of all denominations, have long grossly neglected this duty of mutual charity; and, by

that simple neglect of one great obligation of their faith, they must have grievously damaged its acceptance among a people whose sense of the kindly affections is, perhaps, keener than that of any other nation.

A new field, however, is here opened to all Christian ministers and Christian men among this people; and it is to be expected that in proceeding upon the labours of that field, we should arm ourselves with the safeguard of Christian charity, which can smooth so many of the rugged paths of life in every region.

Since the promulgation of the Queen's direct government of India, the conditions upon which we shall regulate our religious views in China are simplified. Without fearing to offend the government or people of that country by honestly and zealously advocating what we believe to be religious truth; and, without the return of the days when a party of the Society of Friends were refused leave to go out to China at their own expense in order to impart that *truth*, we have a clear prospect of being free from the influence of the self-satisfied spirit which leads well-meaning

men to consent to the most evil acts as if utterly unconscious of the guilt.

It is urgent, at the present beginning of the vast work of evangelising China, that one prodigious error on this head be guarded against.

The monstrous doctrine that religious conversions will repair the most violent aggressions, is now put forth in reference to China, in a way to invite, in new forms, a repetition of horrors of which Montezuma and the Indians of the days of Popish propagandism were victims at the hands of a priesthood at the least as sincere as ours. The design is rife in our periodical literature. It is condensed in the following extract from an essay on "The Future of China," in the Church of England Quarterly Review.*

"We cannot withhold the expression of our deep conviction," says the subtle writer of this Essay, "that 'The Future of China' rests with England. Is the Chinese empire destined, like that of the Great Mogul, to come beneath the sceptre of a British sovereign? Is *all Asia* about to become a dependency of Britain? We are startled to see the words we have written;

* November, 1858, p. 262.

and yet, remembering history, and knowing the extraordinary influence of the Anglo-Saxon mind over the Asiatic, we cannot withdraw those words. How got we possession of India? It is a long story, but two words will answer—by commerce or WAR; commerce necessitating treaty; war punishing the breach of treaty, and the gradual cession of districts and kingdoms, to atone for breach of faith, to be a material guarantee for the future; and now the Indian empire is ours. But as we began and went on in India, so have we begun, and so far gone on in China. Commerce *and war!* commerce necessitating treaty: war punishing the breach of treaty, and the cession of districts to atone for breach of faith, and to be a material guarantee for the future.

"Now the question arises, have we seen the limit of this in China? In other words, will the Chinese observe the Elgin treaty? We unhesitatingly say, they will not. What Epimenides—quoted by St. Paul—said of his countrymen, may with equal truth be said of Asiatics in general—'*The Cretans are always liars.*' The morality of heathenism knows nothing of

the sacredness of truth. It is only at the cannon's mouth that allegiance of international treaty can be enforced in the East."

* * * * *

"That the treaty will be respected by China for a time is clear enough, but the constitutional indolence and the habitual falsehood characteristic of rulers and ruled, will lead her to evade its stipulations at the first favourable opportunity, and then war again, to be followed as before, with new concessions and larger slices of the empire being handed over to the terrible British.

* * * * *

Then, adverting to the *possible* alternative that the Chinese prove faithful to the Elgin treaty, the essayist concludes:—"One thing is clear,—if we may reason from history, and from what the ANGLO-SAXON race are doing at this moment all over the globe, we must make way in China AS MASTERS—our ideas, our enterprise, our commerce, and our civilization will make way. It cannot be otherwise. GOD

HAS GIVEN TO THIS RACE HIS OWN TRUTH, WITH A CHARGE TO MAKE IT KNOWN TO ALL NATIONS."

Surely they who thus dwell upon the inevitable *necessity* of aggression, and war, and territorial aggrandizement on our part, are very far gone in their patronage of the schemes meant to be rebutted by the Parliaments of 1783 and 1793. This readiness to share the spoil betrays a strong sympathy with the plunderer. But not to impute impiety to the bold claim of exclusive favour at the hands of the Supreme Being—the Gracious Creator who "hath made of one blood all nations of men," this harsh judge of the Eastern World must be told, that he has but superficially read history when asserting, as he does, that it is only in 1858 that China opens her gates to the people of the West. He forgot, too, when quoting St. Paul's reference to an heathen poet to the disadvantage of the Cretans, that the same apostle had relied upon another heathen poet in support of the more consolatory opinion that "all are the Creator's offspring;" * and we may safely trust,

* The Acts of the Apostles, ch. xvii. v. 28, and 2nd Epistle to Titus, ch. i. v. 12.

that if our government will but firmly adhere to its ancient declaration of the better policy that is to rule our relations with the Chinese,—our practical missionaries actually engaged in their brotherly work in the country, will be among the first to repudiate the dangerous schemes of theorists at home for its subjugation.

Dignitaries of our Church, the Bishops of London, Oxford, and Victoria, and ecclesiastics whom all honour, such as the Reverend Peter De la Trobe, are actively engaged in the new Chinese missionary movement. They cannot be insensible to the serious aspect belonging to it. They are men capable to look upon the four or five hundred millions of the human race being brought into immediate communication with us as a capital fact in the history of the world. Seen from every side, it is a fact of immense consequence. Those Right Reverend and Reverend persons cannot be unaware of the bearing of the Earl of Elgin's remark, that there is far more to learn in the present condition of the Chinese people, as well as in the policy of their government, than we have yet gained an

adequate notion of, if we would bring our policy into harmony with theirs.

XVII.

The ceremony of the Kotou.

Upon the return of Lord Amherst's embassy from Pekin through the country to Canton, as Mr. George Staunton tells the story, an incident occurred well worth consideration. This incident, which occurred after his Lordship's discourteous dismissal for refusing to perform the humiliating ceremony of the Kotou, brings that case within an exact parallel to the French mission of 1698, when the humiliation was excused. According to Chinese ideas, the actual presence of the Emperor does not affect the character of the obeisance paid. If that obeisance be refused at a remote distance, the imperial displeasure is incurred. If it be submitted to, however far off, it is a fitting compliance with the law. So

as in the French case of 1698, the waiver of the ceremony at Canton was equivalent to its waiver at Pekin.

In the case of Lord Amherst in 1816, our unsuccessful embassy had reached a principality half-way to Canton, and a great festival was contemplated in the local viceroy's palace in honour of the Emperor's birthday. Here, then, from Pekin a proposal was to be made to the English envoy to agree to "the important concession to gratify the Emperor's wounded pride." The resolution of the English not to perform the ceremony of the Ko-tou, prevented the meeting being held."* In 1698, the French envoy obtained at Canton a waiver of it; and a similar waiver at *Nan-tchang-foo* would have saved us from mortification, and many evil results.

These facts afford valuable illustrations upon the point of ceremony to the Emperor of China, which may be held to be now absolutely waived in compliance with our opinions. But the

* Proceedings during the Embassy to Pekin in 1816. By Sir G. T. Staunton (for private circulation). 8vo. 1824, p. 350.

subject is of deeper significance than is commonly supposed; and it is very far from being limited in its influence to the Chinese. Mr. Cornwallis witnessed in Japan the respectful humiliation of the inferior officers of the government, when presenting written reports of ordinary occurrences to their superiors,* and in Goethe's discussion upon the *Kotou*, he treats the ceremony as a *permanent* obstacle to the diplomatic intercourse of Western States with *all* the East, and as founded on the *unchangeable* nature of the oriental mind.

"The people of the west," he says, "can never admit as a rule of life, the spiritual and corporeal submission which the orientals have paid to their sovereigns from the earliest ages when they first set them upon the throne of the deity. The *Kotou*, the reverential bowing, nine times repeated, was then ordained. How many embassies to Eastern monarchs, have made a difficulty in submitting to this ceremony; and the poets of Persia cannot be thoroughly under-

* Two Journeys to Japan, by Kinahan Cornwallis, London, 1859, Vol. i. p. 23.

stood by us, without a clear appreciation of the subject."*

The important objection to be made to this view of the case is, that experience shews the orientals to be really ready to abandon their absurd pretensions of superiority, if we approach them under suitable conditions; and the Chinese government has undoubtedly long ago given us and the French, proofs of its reasonable appreciation of the western world, when meriting its confidence. That government is not unaware of its need of our friendship to avert its own internal difficulties.

Goldsmith's estimate of the state of China was probably correct when, in his agreeable memoir of the travelling Chinese Citizen of the World, he made him say that "his country was degenerating. Her laws," he adds, "are more venal, her merchants more deceitful than formerly. Her porcelain, once so famous, is inferior to what it was. Europe begins to excel us."

"There was a time when China was the receptacle of strangers,—when all were welcome

* Goethe's West-Eastern Divan, Works, 8vo., Vol. i. p. 388, Stuttgard, 1836.

who came to improve the state, or admire its greatness. Now the empire is shut up from every foreign improvement; and the very inhabitants discourage each other from prosecuting their own internal advantages."* It is then for us to deal with the case as we find it, in a way becoming our own rank, and our own character among the nations of the earth, without regard to the slightest selfish considerations.

XVIII.

JAPAN.

IN the reign of James the First, the first East India Company sent ships to trade with Japan; and one of the captains brought home so highly coloured an account of the riches of the people, and the good prospects of the trade, that a merchant in the city of London read that account to King James. His Majesty, however, declared, roundly, that he did not believe a word of it. Nevertheless, our adventurers were not dis-

* The Citizen of the World, Letter lxiii.

couraged; and, probably, only our disastrous disputes with the Dutch in the East, together with the interruption of our distant enterprises by the civil wars, prevented the European Protestants of that time repairing the mischiefs which the outrageous conduct of the Portuguese had done in Japan. In those early days it is a favourable incident, that our captains in the Japanese ports received pressing, friendly invitations from Chinese merchants who traded thither, to extend their voyages to the great northern towns of China. "Their government and their people," said these Chinese *outside* merchants, "would give such strangers a hearty welcome." These satisfactory facts are recorded in unpublished state-papers; and distinct traces of them may be found in "Purchas," and other printed books of the seventeenth century. They are not inconsistent with anything in the foreign writers upon Japan; and they confirm Sir S. Raffles' views respecting that country, and even of those of Marco Polo and Mandevile.

At length, it is fairly opened to the enterprise of the Western World; and under circumstances as favourable to us as could be de-

sired. The concurrence of absolutely friendly Japanese treaties with those made with China upon compulsion, may be expected to take off the irritation and suspicions natural in the latter case, whilst the conduct of our two embassies must be open to comparisons not useless to the conduct of men in such novel circumstances.

In the absolutely friendly disposition of the Japanese people, as testified to by a competent witness, the late Dr. Gutslaff, we have a guarantee that, if we treat them fairly, no unreasonable jealousies on the part of the native government will disturb our relations. In addition to this testimony of the deceased Prussian missionary, we possess excellent late accounts of the Japanese, who, if not quite of the character of Captain Hall's people of Loo Choo, are entitled to be treated by us with prudent confidence.

The Bishop of Victoria has published an important appeal in support of these views, with the important intelligence that in our treaty with Japan we have expressly stipulated, not to let our *opium* be imported into their country.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE FIRST

FRENCH EMBASSY TO CHINA,

IN 1698, 1699, AND 1700.

ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST VOYAGE OF THE FRENCH TO CHINA IN 1698, 1699, AND 1700, IN THE AMPHITRITE, ARMED WITH THIRTY GUNS, OF FIVE HUNDRED TONS BURTHEN; AND WITH A CREW OF ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY MEN, COMMANDED BY CHEVALIER DE LA ROQUE—REMARKS BEING ADDED UPON TRADE, UPON THE PROPER SEASONS FOR SUCH EXPEDITIONS, AND UPON OTHER INTERESTING MATTERS.

(*The following journal was kept on board the ship.*)

I.

FROM LA ROCHELLE TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

6TH OF MARCH TO THE 7TH OF JUNE, 1698.

MARCH, 1698. The 6th March, 1698, at about nine A.M., we set sail from the road of

La Rochelle. But the wind shifting from north-east to east-south-east, and at noon it falling dead calm, we were compelled to anchor again till next day.

Our second captains were MM. Geraldin, Salioz, and La Rigaudiere;—the lieutenants were M.M. de Boissy and Barilly; and the midshipmen, MM. Sabrevois, La Grange, Beaulieu, Geraldin the younger, and Filye.

The company's chief director on board was M. Benac, with M. Poullesel under him as a director and cashier; M. Boisar as a director and superintendent; M. Francia as supercargo; La Garde as secretary; two clerks, and eight artisans.

We had also two clerks of the East India Company on board, whose duty it was to be privy to all our transactions, and to prevent our trading anywhere in the East. This was a condition made by the two companies with each other.

The Reverend Father Bouvet took out with him in the ship seven missionary Jesuits, a Brother, and an Italian painter, named Ghirardini.

We got under way at seven A.M., and passed

through the Channel of Antioche, with a moderate breeze from east-south-east. Towards four P.M. we lost sight of land.

On the 9th, in latitude 45 deg. 30 min., and longitude 15 deg. 6 min., when we had made ninety leagues, M. de Benac produced his sealed instructions, which had been ordered to be opened in that latitude, and which he had brought with him from Paris.

But M. de la Roque, on commencing the consultation, claimed to be entitled, as the commander, to have possession of those sealed instructions. On the other hand, M. de Benac urged, that as representative of the company, and its chief director, he ought to keep them. When they could not agree, a new council was held, which decided unanimously in favour of the claim of the captain. The missionary Jesuits were allowed two votes at this council.

This incident proves the utility of such consultations; as it often happens that, in long sea voyages, serious misunderstandings arise from unforeseen difficulties, apparently of little importance, and which would be easily settled if the calm opinions of experienced sea-officers were taken.

The intention of the company, as declared in its first orders, was, that we should sail direct to within one hundred leagues of the Cape of Good Hope, and there open our *second* orders.

On the 10th and 11th March, the wind veered round to the south, the sea rose, and the ship laboured greatly. Early on the eleventh we saw a small ship with her foretop-mast gone. The wind then changed to a gale from west-north-west, so that we lay to all night.

The 13th and 14th the gale abated, and the wind shifted to north-east and east-south-east; during this we saw a sloop standing north.

Towards 6 A.M. of the 15th, when we were in about the parallel of Cape Finisterre, we saw two vessels coming down upon us with a free wind. They made us out only within gun shot and half distance, when they hauled up, and made sail close to the wind. This led us to suppose that they were Sallee rovers, or people not aware of the peace.*

* Signor Ghirardini's account of this alarm is in his usual witty strain. "The 15th of March," says he, "I

From the 15th to the 18th the wind kept

made the discovery that more is to be dreaded at sea than to be eaten by the fish. We approached the coast of a piratical people called Saltins, a barbarous race—the corsairs of Sallee, subject to the King of Morocco;—

Di cui l'antica legge ogn'un ch' arriva
In perpetuo tien servo ò che l'occidi;—

who, of old, make slaves of all they meet, or put them to death.

"To be taken by such wretches would assuredly be a greater evil than to perish in the sea.

Voglio che inanzi il mar m'affoghi,
Chio senta mai di servitute i gioghi.

"I would rather be ingulphed in the ocean than be for ever in bondage.

"As I was in the midst of these melancholy speculations, two ships were seen right astern, coming down upon us hand over hand. These must be our formidable Sallee rovers. '*Beat to quarters,*' shouted our Commander. '*We must fight for our liberty, we must conquer or die. To become slaves will be worse than death.*' Hereupon every soul on board was assigned his post.

"For my part, I could not comprehend the nature—the ill-breeding of these Africans, who were ready to make so unreasonable an attack upon a harmless ship that had not offered them the slightest offence. My mind was, however, made up to fight it out, when the intelligence that the supposed Corsairs had hoisted a white ensign, and were standing off on their own course, as we pursued ours, permitted us to breathe again freely. Heaven be praised for this escape with the penalty of the fright."

shifting from south-south-west to north-east, but fresh; and the weather was fine. Father Bouvet now began his lessons in the Chinese and Tartar languages.

The whole morning of the 21st we saw porpoises, and numerous birds; and a little after twelve we sighted Madeira, above fifteen leagues to the south-south-west. According to the reckoning of our pilot, we ought to have passed that island at a distance of forty leagues, if the current setting in to the Mediterranean had not carried us out of our course to the eastward. At four P.M. we saw five ships in shore, standing north. The wind, at east-north-east, was fair and fresh.

At sunrise, the 22d, we sighted the Ferro islands, thirteen leagues to the east-south-east; and we began to bear due south, in order to leave Cape de Verd to starboard.

Until the 31st, the wind continued east-north-east; and then north and north-west. All the while the fog was so thick that the sea looked quite altered and muddy. In latitude 17 deg. 30 min. we saw cuttle fish and sea-weed, notwithstanding we were sixty leagues' distance from the nearest of the Cape de Verd islands.

The 1st of April we saw turtle, dolphin, and shoals of flying fish. We were now in latitude 10 deg. 32 min. north, and longitude 35 deg. 31 min. by reckoning. We therefore changed the course to 8¼ south east, in order to cross the line between 35 deg. and 36 long.

The 2d we observed vast breadths of current, setting due south as far as we could judge.

It became exceedingly hot on the 5th and 6th, with much thunder and lightning, the wind still blowing from the north-west and the sun vertical.

From the 6th to the 12th the weather was foggy, with rains and thunder; and the wind variable from north-west to the south-west, and from south-west to south-east.

On the 11th, shortly after twelve, we saw, at three leagues to the westward, four ships in the same course with ourselves. We immediately stood towards them to make them out; and about five P.M. we showed our flag. Following their lights all night, we perceived at daybreak it was the squadron commanded by M. des Augers, namely, the ships Le Bon, Zealand, the Indian, and the Castricon; Captains des

Augers, Modene, Pradine, and La Roche Hercule. We first neared the Zealand, which was astern, and then the Commodore, whom we saluted with eleven guns. He returned the salute. They had sailed from Port Louis on the 21st of February, and remained eight days at Cape de Verd. Our latitude this day was 3 deg. 34 min. north.

All night of the 12th we had squalls from the north-west to south-west, much rain, and light winds, but a heavy sea from south-east.

On the evening of the 14th, M. de la Roque went on board the Zealand to take leave of M. de Augers; and we immediately made all sail seaward with very light winds from south-south-east.

By day-break on the 15th we had made two leagues; and in the evening, towards five o'clock, we lost sight of the squadron.

At noon the 18th we were north of the line, which we crossed at about longitude 35 deg. 50 min., when the usual ceremonies took place.*

* "They shaved each other, then baptized each other, that is to say, they drowned each with sea-water, but all in good humour. Some were plunged headlong

The wind freshening from the south towards evening, we took in a reef in our top-sails.

On the 21st we caught more than one hundred bonitoes. The sea was quite black with them; and the crew had as many cooked as they pleased.

From the 22d to the 28th a light wind blew from the south-east; the weather was fine and the sea smooth. We bore south-west and south-south-west close to the wind.

On the 29th the wind veered round to east-south-east, and the 30th to east and east-north-east. We were now in latitude 17 deg. 17 min. south, and, as we reckoned, twenty-nine leagues north of Trinity Islands. Towards night we saw some booby birds, and a water-spout.

The 1st of May, when in the latitude of the Trinity Islands, 18 deg. 37 min., our pilots expected to make them. They are lofty, and the day was clear. But we did not see them, so that the distance must have been more than

into a tub, and one hundred buckets of brine were showered upon the heads of others. This must be borne by all, or a fine paid."—*Ghirardini's Voyage*, p. 23.

fifteen leagues. It was generally thought we had left them far at a distance.

From the 1st to the 11th of May the wind remained steady and strong, at east-north-east to north-north-east. It was also rainy and foggy.

On the 11th the wind shifted to north-west, in latitude 31 deg. 10 min., longitude 17 deg. 49 min.

Towards evening we caught a little bird which seemed to have been blown by the westerly gale off the Island of Tristan da Cunha. The current also came from that direction.

The 12th and 13th we had the wind from west-north-west to west-south-west, but very light. It was, indeed, almost always a calm.

From the 14th to the 19th the wind again veered to the north-east and some time to north-north-west, but always very light, and, for the most part, a dead calm.

The 20th, at about 150 leagues from land, M. de la Roque called his council together, to open the company's second secret orders, instructing us to put into an island, if possible, about twenty leagues from the Cape of Good

Hope. If refreshments could be got there, we were not to go to the Cape at all, nor, under any circumstances, to remain there more than twelve to sixteen days. The island here referred to by the company seems to be Saldanha Bay, there being no other suitable harbour along the whole of that coast. The incident justifies the remark I made in the opening of this journal, about the propriety of letting the sea-commander, M. de la Roque, have possession of the packet of secret orders.

From the 20th to the 23rd, the wind ranged from south-south-east to east-south-east, with a cloudy sky, but strong. Between the 24th to the 29th it changed to north-north-east and north-west, and still strong.

The 26th we saw pipes floating, a sure sign of land within forty or fifty leagues. These pipes are stems of seaweed, a fathom or a fathom and half long, curved like trumpets,* from which form they are called in French "Trompes." We also saw more albatrosses than before, which are met nowhere but near the Cape of Good

* These *pipes*, when dried and fitted with a mouth-piece, are really musical trumpets.

Hope; they wander, however, sometimes two hundred leagues from it.

At daybreak the 29th, we saw a large ship two leagues to windward, and upon our course. At the same time, also, we sighted land ten leagues off, east-south-east. The wind was north and north $\frac{1}{4}$ north-east, but a thick fog came on. Towards 10 A.M. the ship above mentioned hoisted the Dutch flag, which we saluted. At noon we stood out to sea to catch a wind behind the Lion's Rump, a mountain at the entrance of the road of the Cape of Good Hope, then five leagues off, east north east. The Dutchman, alarmed at our manœuvre, and supposing that we did not know of the peace, pursued his course, and anchored a league and a half from the shore, south of the Lion's Head.

II.

TABLE BAY AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

27TH OF MAY TO THE 6TH OF JUNE, 1698.

ALL night of the 27th it was a dead calm, and a very thick fog. At two in the morning of the 28th, the Dutchman fired from fifteen to twenty guns of distress, which made us suppose the ship was certainly going down. Where she had anchored, the coast was covered with rocks; and a terrible swell came in from the west. At eight in the morning the ship's boat came on board us with twenty men in great disorder and alarm, like people at their wit's end. The captain had ordered them to look out along the shore, for a spot where the crew might land. But these twenty men seeing themselves out of the jaws of death, from which their comrades could not possibly escape, only thought of getting away safe. M. de la Roque sent the Dutch boat back with several of his own people, to see how the case stood; and he offered every assist-

ance in his power, engaging to stand off and on until they should come to him again.

The ship, the Gravestein, belonged to the Dutch East India Company. She had sailed from Middleburg in January, was quite new, and could carry sixty guns, but only thirty were mounted, with a crew of 320 men. She had only a cargo of eighteen chests of silver. The rocks in the bay had cut her cables through, and she had drifted with the swell of the sea towards the shore, the thick fog preventing her people seeing ahead. It must be added, that they had been guilty of a degree of negligence too common in the navy of Holland.

Towards noon, as it blew from the south-south-east, we thought it dangerous to remain out at sea only two leagues off a lee shore. Besides, there was little hope of saving the Dutch ship. We therefore stood into the Bay, passing between the Lion's Rump and Roben island, where we found twenty-five, twenty, and fifteen fathoms water, with a rocky bottom. We beat up till night without being able to reach the roadstead, and finding no holding ground there, we were obliged to anchor off Roben island about

half-past five o'clock, in fourteen fathoms, in a fine sandy bottom. The guard upon this island stopped us three quarters of a league from the shore to the west-south-west.

The 29th, the wind being still contrary, we landed upon Roben island.

The Commandant received us on landing, and with much ceremony took us into his quarters. He informed us that they had heard of the peace so long ago as the 13th of January; and that two of the French East India Company's ships, the Etoile and the Phelyppeaux, had already touched at the Cape on their voyage out.

Roben island is two leagues and a half round. It is unapproachable on account of several rocks, which run out a considerable distance into the sea. To the south there is a sand bank called the Whale, extending out a long quarter of a league. The breakers upon this bank are seen at a great distance. The landing place itself is so much covered with sea-weed a musket-shot off, that even small boats can scarcely be got ashore. The island is flat and sandy, without any wood, and with little water. It is a sort of convict

station, or galley, where the deserters are confined for life to collect shells to be carried to the Cape for lime. On our visit, there were about twenty men on the island—some of them deserters, some their guards. They showed us the ruins of a house on the south side, formerly built here by the French. There is one gun mounted at this station, to give notice to the authorities at Cape Town when ships are seen at sea. The Commandant saluted us with his whole force on our departure.

The same day, the 29th, A.M., two English ships arrived. Another of that nation, then at anchor before the castle, set sail as soon as the other two were seen, and about noon passed near us. M. de la Roque sent his boat to her with letters for France. She saluted us with five guns, which we returned with as many, and she gave her farewell with three. The ship belonged to the East India Company. She had come laden from Bombay on the Malabar coast, and was going home to Europe by way of St. Helena, having touched at the Cape only to hear if the peace was settled. She informed us that the two ships just arrived at the Cape were

Interlopers, which had taken in cargoes in Bengal.

The 30th we intended to weigh anchor at day-break, but the wind blowing a gale from south-south-east, hindered it. At ten A.M., MM. Geraldin, La Rigaudiere, and Boissy went to Cape Town in the boat: M. de la Rigaudiere being ordered to get our stores ready for embarcation as soon as the ship should reach the road. He was also ordered to arrange the salutes with the Governor, and to learn whether his excellency would return gun for gun.

The same day, towards noon, as the wind had moderated, we weighed anchor and tacked to and fro till night, in eight, ten, thirteen, fifteen, and eighteen fathoms, generally with a rocky bottom. Towards nine P.M. we anchored in eighteen fathoms, within a league and a half of the castle, which bore south-south-west $\frac{1}{3}$ south. The ground was rock, sand, and shells.

At every tack we were within a half league of land, and with eight or nine fathoms water. It is safer, however, to skirt the main land than Roben Island, since, in the latter case, the bottom is full of rocks, and in the former there

is sand and some gravel, where you may cast anchor if absolutely necessary. Besides, dead calms are less frequent in shore where it is flat, and the wind hardly ever fails when Table Mountain is covered with fog. The currents are not worth attention in Table Bay, running regularly north-east $\frac{1}{4}$ north, and south-west $\frac{1}{4}$ south. The variation of the compass this year was 10 deg. north-west.

At eight P.M. on the 31st we stood in near the shore, with the wind still south-south-east, and we were in seventeen, sixteen, fourteen, and twelve fathoms. The bottom was good. About noon a summons was sent from the governor, requiring us to deliver up sixteen Dutch sailors on board the Amphitrite, since their ship, the Gravestein, was stranded between two rocks, which prevented her sinking. The crew had got ashore safe, and it was expected to recover all the cargo. Only a few chests of silver were plundered by a body of seamen, who escaped with it into Table mountain.

The two English ships saluted our flag with seven guns as they neared the road; we returned the same number, and then received three more.

The castle, mistaking the salute as if made to it, answered us with seven guns. We anchored, and then saluted the castle, it being usual to make salutes to fortresses before which you anchor. The compliment was paid to us the second time. We were now anchored at a long half league from shore, in nine fathoms water, with a fine sandy bottom. We then moored east and west, the castle bearing south-west $\frac{1}{4}$ south. To have a good anchorage, the coasts should be brought to bear more to the west-south-west, because the north and north-west winds are sometimes so violent and raise so heavy a sea, that the boats cannot land.

There was only one very small Dutch ship in the road. It carried a square pendant at the main. At the end of April a numerous fleet from Batavia had sailed for Europe, and at the same time another from Europe had passed by for Batavia. Together they amounted to nineteen sail.

On board one of the English ships we found two members of the Paris Seminary of Foreign Missions, namely, M. Labé, lately appointed a bishop, and M. de la Vigne. The former was returning from Cochin China, the latter from Siam. Both

were going home upon their mission business. They had left Father Tachard in Bengal, where he awaited the royal ship despatched for the negotiation with Siam.

The 3rd of June, at about three P.M., M. des Auger's squadron entered the road. They had met with better weather than we had, as we reckoned upon leaving Table Bay before his arrival. We saluted him with eleven guns, which he did not return lest the castle might take his salute as meant for them. The English captain saluted him with five guns, which was returned with three, and he replied with one.

M. des Augers, at four P.M., saluted the castle with seven guns, which were answered by the same number. The governor was all the time at Constantia, a country house he had built three leagues from the Cape. He remained there whilst we were in Table Bay, and did not seem to be so well disposed towards the French as when the fleet with M. de Chaumont, on his mission to Siam, was there. It is said he had special orders on the subject.

There is no trade at the Cape of Good Hope. The company monopolise every thing, so that

all provisions are exceedingly dear to foreigners. Cattle cost us fifteen crowns a head, sheep two and a half. Wood is particularly dear, being scarce, and brought in from eight or ten leagues off. There had, indeed, lately been a severe drought in the country, and a great mortality in cattle and sheep, for want of pasture.

We found many French of the Reformed Church settled here, at twelve leagues from Cape Town. They had a district of twelve leagues in circuit, along a considerable river. They are more than two hundred and fifty souls, almost all peasants from Languedoc and Gascony. I shall say nothing more of the Cape; as former accounts have exhausted the subject, so as to excuse further details.

The English ships sailed the 7th, the one at daybreak, the other at noon. They did so, in order not to embarrass each other, but arrive home before the company's ships, and so get a better market for their merchandise. M. Labé took despatches from M. de la Roque, and from the directors to the government and to the company.

III.

FROM THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE TO ACHEN.

7TH OF JUNE TO THE 24TH OF JULY, 1698.

AT day-break on the 10th we weighed anchor with only a light southerly breeze, but we were able to pass between Roben Island and the coasts towards Saldanha Bay. M. des Augers returned our salute of eleven guns, and was ready himself to set sail. That night we received thirteen Dutch seamen from the wrecked crew of the Gravestein. Father Bouvet also obtained two missionary priests from the French squadron. We might have very well made the passage out between Roben Island and the Lion's Rump; but it is not commonly taken, for fear of the dead calms, in which ships might be drifted upon the Whale Bank.

We were becalmed from the 10th to the 12th, in sight of the Table Mountain, the swell carrying us back to the northward.

On the 13th, as the breeze freshened to the

south-south-east and south-east ¼ south, we bore away to the south-west and south-west ¼ south, as near the wind as possible.

The 14th, in latitude 34 deg. 40 min., and at about thirty-four leagues from the Cape, our third secret orders were opened. They instructed us to proceed direct to Batavia for pilots to the coast of China, unless they could be found in any ships we might meet on the voyage. At thirty leagues from Batavia the fourth secret orders were also to be opened.

The wind changed on the 16th to east-north-east, and north-east, but it was light. This was in latitude 36 deg. 46 min., and longitude 37 deg. 40 min., by reckoning. From the 16th to the 22nd we had heavy gales from north to west-north-west, with rain and thunder. We steered east ¼ south-east, and east-south-east, which was equivalent to a course due east would have done, as from the direction of north-west there was 15 deg. to 20 deg. of variation to allow for.

From the 23rd to the 25th the wind veered strong to north-north-east and north-east, with rain and a very heavy sea. We laid-to all

night of the 25th, the wind setting to north-north east, and we could not carry sail.

The 26th, early, the wind chopped suddenly round to west-north-west. Towards ten A.M. it fell calm, with a short cross sea, so that several times our course had to be changed, lest in the rolling of the ship she should be dismasted. The latitude was 38 deg. 16 min., and longitude 71 deg. 30 min. by reckoning.

From the 27th to the 30th the wind ranged from west to south-south-west, fair and strong, with light rain. Our latitude was 35 deg. 40 min., longitude 82 deg., with 29 deg. of variation from the north. This variation afterwards became much less.

The 1st and 2nd of July the wind shifted to north-west and north-north-west; light, with fine weather. The latitude 35 deg. 58 min., and longitude 85 deg. 47 min. We changed our course to east-north-east, expecting a north-west wind to the tropic. All, however, did not agree to that manœuvre, seeing that we had not got longitude enough to make so much westing safe. Those on board who objected, thought we might miss the

south-east trade, and fall in with the gales from the Straits of Sunda, which happened.

The 3d and 4th the wind shifted from north-west to south-west and south-south-east. Our course was still east-north-east and north-east $\frac{1}{2}$ east.

On the 5th the wind blew steady south-east. The sea rose in latitude 29 deg. 48 min., longitude 93 deg. 25 min. by reckoning.

Until the 15th, the wind kept from south-east to east-south-east, but more steadily south-east $\frac{1}{2}$ south-south-east, and south-east half east. Birds have never left us all the way from the Cape of Good Hope; so that it is probable there are in these seas some undiscovered islands which they frequent.

Much rain fell on the 16th and 17th, the wind being then south-east. The currents set north. Our latitude was 13 deg. and 14 deg.; the longitude 109 deg.

From the 18th to the 20th the wind freshened south-east and south-east $\frac{1}{4}$ east; and we had a heavy sea with much rain.

On the twentieth we saw the trunk of a tree and some branches, apparently from the Straits

of Sunda. Our latitude was 9 deg. 48 min., longitude 111 deg. 22 min.

On the 20th a reed floated by. The prevailing winds were south east, and still strong. We were all day long under close reefs.

All night of the 21st and 22nd we stood south, the wind was east, and east ½ north-east, strong with rain. At day-break we lay-to north-north-east.

The 23d, we were in latitude 7 deg. 36 min., and longitude 114 deg. 56 min. Our chief pilot made it 119 deg., and calculated upon seeing land to-day. But there were no signs of it,—no birds, no seaweed,—the tree and bamboos we saw before came from the Cocos Islands, which we had left to larboard.

The 24th, and no sight of land. Latitude 6 deg. 13 min. We had been drifted by the current from the Straits of Sunda far to the north-west; and that current was the stronger for the south-east wind. We sailed as near the wind as possible in order to sight Sumatra, where it was expected we should have a fair wind to make up our lee-way.

The whole of the time from the 25th to the

28th, we ran north-east and north-east $\frac{1}{4}$ east. We saw some bamboos, a live snake, and many boobies, but still no land. The currents must have been very strong to carry us so far to the west and west-north-west; all our pilots must have been two hundred leagues out in their reckoning, according to the observation of certain Jesuits, who fix Java Head seven degrees more to the west than the Dutch charts do.

The chief cause of our error was not having taken proper advantage of the winds. I advise all future navigators who would pass through the Straits of Sunda, to run down their latitude to 40 deg. and 41 deg. south as far as 98 deg. long., then to steer east $\frac{1}{4}$ north-east and east-north-east to longitude 110 deg. and 112 deg., or even to sight Terra Australis to the south. By this course you have the full command of the wind, and cannot possibly miss the Straits.

In the night of the 27th and the next, we ran north-east till midnight; and then tacked seaward. This precaution was taken because the islands west of Sumatra are low. The sky was cloudy, it rained incessantly; and we might have easily grounded.

A council was held on the 29th, at which it was determined to change our course to Achen, and to pass by the Straits of Malacca. There seemed no prospect of making the Straits of Sunda. No land could be seen, and the south-east wind was still dead against us. Now we stood north, and north-north-east by day; and north-west, north-west ½ west by night, not to risk anything. This course would carry us to the latitude of Acheen, even if we did not make the land; and the west wind or the west-south-west, always met north of the line at this season, could take us into port.

Our holy fathers, the Jesuits, offered vows in the name of the crew, that if Heaven should vouchsafe to grant our arrival this year in any part of China, we would build upon the tomb of St. Francois Xavier, in the island of Sanciam, a chapel, to be for ever a monument of the piety of the first Frenchmen who navigated those seas.

All the morning of the 30th it was a calm, and the sea smooth. The wind was east-south-east; and we ran to the northward. At about two P.M. a squall came from north-north-west,

which suddenly filled our sails. This squall formed a furious whirlwind, which passed the ship a pistol-shot astern, raising across our course a prodigious water-spout. A sort of hurricane followed, and kept up till noon next day; and we lay-to all night, for fear of running ashore. The wind ranged from west-south-west to north-west, and heavy rain as sharp as hail fell the whole time, from seven to eleven A.M. The squalls were so violent, and the sea was so high, that we were obliged to be under bare poles.

The same day, the 31st, at about two o'clock P.M., we at last saw land. It was a low island, bearing north-north-east, a place that must have been a few minutes south of the line, so far as we could reckon, for during the last six days we had not been able to take an observation. There was no change in the depth of the water, as at three leagues and a half off the shore we paid out one hundred and thirty fathoms of line, without gaining bottom.

The night of the 31st was calm and very fine. At daybreak the island sighted bore east $\frac{1}{4}$ south east, and we saw another island

to the north. Both seemed to be covered with trees. At noon the latitude was 30 min. south. All our pilots had made us out north of the line; the currents must have carried us south. The first island we had seen was Pulo Mintao (Pulo meaning, in the Malay language, *an island*). It lies 35 or 40 min. south of the line, and may be about ten to twelve leagues long. The other is Pulo Nyas. It lies north-west of the other, and is about eight leagues long.

During the night of the 1st of August and all next day we had very little wind, and kept in sight of the two islands. At noon we found ourselves 5 min. more to the south than the day before, although by reckoning we had made eight leagues to the north-west. We had also neared the land, although the current certainly drifted us towards the south-east.

During the day, the 3rd and 4th, we had light winds from seaward; and so made five or six leagues way. But we lost it by the calms and currents at night, and every morning we were in the same place, only nearer land. At daybreak, the 5th, we were within two leagues of

it, all we could do to get out at sea, and M. de la Roque determined to anchor. We began to want water and wood. We were still far off Achen, and the continuance of the calm was to be feared.

M. de la Rigaudiere went in the boat well-armed, to find a good anchorage, where we might conveniently wood and water, and, if the island was inhabited, get some refreshments. I went with him, by M. de la Roque's order, to sound along shore, and survey the shoals. In leaving the ship we ran upon a point of land bearing north-east $\frac{1}{4}$ east, and two leagues off. Behind this bank there seemed to be a deep inlet, and, accordingly, we found a very fine bay and good anchorage there. An extensive island at the entrance shelters it from the ocean. We stretched somewhat wide of the bank to clear a reef, running a quarter of a league into the water. Outside of this harbour the soundings were ten to twenty-five fathoms, with a coral, stony, and rocky bottom; within from twenty to three fathoms, with a bottom of coarse and fine sand. I took a plan of the soundings and dangers of this bay.

The shore is everywhere pleasant, and covered with large trees of various sorts. We could only land in a deep sandy cove, where we saw five men, who ran away along the shore, and plunged into the wood. We anchored at half a musket-shot from the shore, and hoisted our flag, to signify to the men that we had no ill intentions. For half an hour we saw nothing of them, but then these men came forward, and sat down upon the sand. We approached them, and made signs that we wanted water. They forthwith guided us to a little stream close by, and drank some of the water themselves first. They then made signs to us to go round a point to another bay, where we should get refreshments. We gave them tobacco and brandy, knives and needles, which delighted them greatly. One of the three went away, and brought some arrack, betel-nuts, cocoa-nuts, and an agouly, which he gave us.

We re-embarked towards half-past five, with a light wind, and joined the ship, which had anchored a league from the bay, in 25 fathoms with a sandy bottom. M. de la Roque would not enter the bay, because there was no sign of

our finding good water. What the Malays had shown us was brackish.

The ship's long-boat and jolly-boat went to the bay again, the 6th and 7th, for wood. We could not communicate with the natives without difficulty; and, at last, they took fright and escaped, leaving their poor utensils on the shore. We found a large canoe forty-five feet long, and a little canoe. They appeared to sleep there, as no trace of a habitation could be discovered.

We weighed anchor on the morning of the 8th, with a south-east wind, and sailed west-north-west, to get clear of the land. The same day, M. de la Roque caused the fourth packet of sealed orders to be opened, as it ought to have been read thirty leagues from Batavia, in case the ship had gone by the Straits of Sunda. Our instructions were to buy a small vessel at Batavia, or further on, in order to take soundings, ahead of the Amphitrite, and proceed by the best possible route to Ningpo, as the nearest port to Pekin.

The 9th, standing fifteen leagues off the coast, we steered north-west, to clear Pulo Nyas and the Cocos Islands. Towards evening, we crossed

the line, running to the parallel of Achen without seeing land. It was very calm and cloudy.

The 16th,* at day-break, clouds were seen upon the horizon like high land. But the sky thickened, and nothing could be distinguished. We steered all day north, and north-north-east, till morning. During that night, being by our reckoning in north latitude 4 deg. 20 min., we saw this supposed land a-breast of the ship. Her sails began to fill with a fine wind, west-south-west. We steered east $\frac{1}{4}$ south-east, and about three in the afternoon we made the high peaks of Sumatra, and the islands north of the road of Achen. We sailed to within a league of those islands without finding soundings.

* There seems to be an error in the date, a week from the 9th being left out.

IV.

ACHEN.

THE 17TH TO THE 23RD OF AUGUST, 1698.

DURING the night the wind changed from south-west to south-south-east; so that we stood out to sea until three A.M. of the 18th, and then we tacked towards the land. The current had so much drifted the ship, that we were six full leagues at sea at dawn. Towards eleven A.M. we entered the Bengal Passage. There was much rain, squalls, and a thick fog. At a quarter of a league from the shore we found soundings in forty fathoms, with a grey sandy bottom. The current ran still west-south-west. As soon as we had doubled the Bengal Passage, we saw lofty trees on both sides of the river of Achen—a safe sea-mark and guide to the road. They look from a distance like ships at anchor. We steered on south-east, and anchored at about six P.M in nine fathoms, with a bottom of slimy sand. The bar of Achen bore east ¼ north-east at a quarter of a league off.

In the road there was a ship of the King of

Siam; two Arab vessels from Surat; three more belonging to an old English merchant named Delton, long settled at Acheen; three Chinese junks, several Portuguese barks from Malacca, and a small French vessel belonging to a private individual in Bengal.

The 19th, M. de la Roque sent M. Geraldin, the second Captain, to pay his respects to the Chapandar; to ask leave to land at Achen, and to buy provisions for the ship, which were readily granted.

The 20th, M. de la Roque disembarked, and received visits from the Chinese, and other merchants, who offered him their services.

We stayed till the 23d in the road of Achen. Our long boat went daily to the neighbouring islands for wood. They produce nothing else, and are not inhabited, except by some poor fishermen. We lost two deserters there; and one sick man in the hospital also deserted.

We employed the flat boats of the place to water. They carry twenty to twenty-two casks in bulk. Those flat boats of the country save the ships' boats upon the dangerous bar. Every trip costs two *taels*, which are equal to eight French

crowns. The water must, however, be often tasted as offered, seeing that it is apt to be brackish. Wood bought in the town costs the same.

Everything is dear in Achen, as provisions and merchandize are all imported. The coin of the country is a little piece of gold, round and very thin. The Portuguese call it *massie*. It is worth twelve *sous*. Five and sometimes six are reckoned to a French crown.

English, Danish, Arab, Siamese, and Chinese vessels bring merchandize and provisions from all parts to Achen, and winter there.

The road is good, and safe from all violent winds. The goods imported are cotton, Indian muslin, silks, porcelain, rice, tobacco, arrack, and sugar, for which nothing but gold and a little pepper are exchanged. During the famine upon the Coromandel coast, twelve years ago, the Dutch brought a prodigious number of slaves to Achen with great profit. They bought these slaves upon the coast for a little rice, and resold them for one hundred crowns each.

There is a great population in the town, if a vast village two leagues round, in a forest, deserves that name. The different nations inhabit their respective quarters of the place. The

Chinese have two pagodas; the Malays and Arabs many mosques; the Christians a little church, served at the time of our visit by a Portuguese monk of the order of the Cordeliers.

The pretended queen of Achen is still living, according to some. She must, however, be extraordinarily old. Nobody sees her, and none are allowed to approach her palace. The grandees of the kingdom, called *avancayes*, shew her once a year to the people; but at a great distance. We were assured she had been a long while dead, the exhibition being a figure which the grandees shewed to amuse the people and secure their own authority.

The 23rd we weighed anchor with a light breeze. One of Mr. Delton's vessels in the road saluted us with three guns, which we returned with one. Mr. Delton was then on board the Amphitrite; and when he left her we paid him the compliment to fire seven guns. He had done us all a thousand kindnesses, and kept open house during our stay at Achen. We took in two Portuguese pilots for the coast of China. They had made several voyages to Macao. A Chinese merchant also embarked with us to return home to Canton. He had

asked Father Bouvet to be allowed to make the voyage in our ship.*

* The narrative of the troubles of this part of the voyage, and stay of the Amphitrite at Achen, by Signor Ghirardini, is as follows:—

"At the end of July we expected to sail direct to Batavia, a place well worth visiting, especially when so near. The visit would have been the more to my satisfaction, seeing that from Batavia we should have had only a trip of a fortnight or three weeks to reach Canton. I looked upon our voyage as over; but was a good deal out in my reckoning. I little thought of the miseries and great dangers before us. After missing the Straits of Sunda, we were first exposed to torrents of rain and frightful storms. This is the common lot of all who, like us, have to sail along the west coast of the island of Sumatra.

" Era travolto
Fra le nuvole il mar, fra l'onde il cielo
S'udian du nembi i tuoni
Scoccar fremendo horribile tempesta.
Piova gia non parea, parean superbi
Correr per l'aria i fiumi
Ed hora fu ch' i dissi oime!
Cade del cielo il mare.

" Sometimes the sea was among the clouds,
Among the waves the sky,
The thunder of the lightning was
Heard to burst, a horrible tempest.
Rain it did not seem, rivers appear'd
To pour furiously through the air;

Then it was that I cried Alas!
The ocean falls from heaven.

"In the whole ship, not a dry spot could be found free of the deluge. On the 30th of July, after a dead calm, the storm broke out suddenly, the sea rose in whirlpools. As you sometimes see the straw, loose papers, and feathers in a sheltered court all at once borne aloft in a whirlwind to the tops of the houses;—so on this occasion the smooth surface of the sea was disturbed in a moment, and what the French sailors call a *trompe* was formed in a huge black column. For my part, I called it a *Dragon.* Its head pierced the cloud, it sucked up a wall of waters with its pump-like body, and spouted it out again in torrents. It is a magnificent thing to look upon, but it is terrible, for the storm soon bursts, the cataract falls furiously, the storm bursts, and the sea roars. If the monster strikes a ship, all is over. It is recommended to fire a gun-shot at these water-spouts; so wherever the least sign of one appeared above us, I began to shout *the Dragon*, *the Dragon*, and besought them to have guns ready.

"However, after many alarms and many troubles, after being starved for want of wood to cook with, and famished for want of fresh water, we reached Achen, a town as remarkable for its strange buildings as for its multitudes of people perfectly new to us. Such a country has great charms to every one gifted with a poetical fancy; in one word, it is

"Culte pianure, e delicati colli,
Chiare acque, ombrose ripe e prati molli,
Vaghi boschetti di soavi allori,
Di palme, e di amenissime mortelle,

Cedri ed aranci ch' avean fruti e fiori
Cotesti in varie forme, e tutte belle.

" A land of cultured plains, and gracefully sloping hills,
Where clear streams, and shady banks, and softest meads,
Wavy groves of sweet laurels, of palms,
And most delicious myrtles,
Of cedars; and orange-trees full at once of flowers and fruit,
Rise in many a form, and all beautiful.

"To have a correct idea of Achen, we may fancy set before us one of the finest forests of France or Italy, with a noble river running through it, thronged with boats. For our oaks and elms, plant in it bamboos, acacias, plantains, and cocoa-nut palms. Scatter over all an incredible multitude of habitations, here and there, without regularity, and constructed of cane, bark of trees and reeds; let these cots make streets and hamlets; let little meadows be scattered about with deep green verdure everywhere, and you will have a portion of Achen before your eyes. But it is not all. You here see besides an assemblage of various nations, somewhat barbarous in comparison with ourselves; and they constitute the life and soul of this place. The Chinese are clean in their persons, with the clothing of women; they fix large needles in their hair, and carry fans. The Arabs have a grand air with their flowing robes and long beards. The Malays are short, well-shaped and fiery; they are at once proud in manner and gentle in disposition, in one word,

" Son di persona tanto ben formata
Quanto mai finger san pittori industri.

They are indeed so gracefully formed
That never could the most ingenious artist picture them.

"Oh that our Titians and Caraccios could see what I witness, no such shapes ever came from their hands; these people are dark, but very unlike the coloured men we have in Europe; their blackness becomes them; and certainly if they were white we could not tolerate their half nakedness. They are absolutely uncovered below, except round the loins, and above only wear a shawl wound about their shoulders with singular beauty. In vain our painters study to represent such figures, whilst here nature teaches a grace beyond the reach of art. These Malays wear a sort of sabre of the length of our light swords; the handle is gold or ivory, the shape of the blade is curving, it is fixed under the right arm, and passes concealed under the folds of the lower garment. Many of them wear also a broad belt of golden embroidery, fastened in front with a buckle of gold, or some valuable material.

"I wanted nothing but a little more time to compose the most brilliant historical picture ever conceived by painter. I had the river and its meadows on one side, on the other I had their habitations grouped among trees of exquisite beauty. The human figure in the midst of all this was perfect, varying in race, in features, dress, and gait, yet all was natural and really fine; even women might be seen in their native costume, with their large, neatly woven hats of grass. Moreover, in one corner I had before me huge elephants, carrying a dozen little children on their backs, and with the branches of a whole tree in their trunks for one meal.

"I quitted this charming place with regret on the 23rd of August, when we entered the Straits of Malacca."

FROM ACHEN TO MALACCA.

THE 23RD OF AUGUST TO THE 8TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1698.

On leaving the road we steered north ¼ north-west, north, and north-north-east, to clear a sandbank which ran half a league out in face of the river. We then stood east-north-east and east, leaving to starboard the little island in the middle of the Straits of Malacca.

On the other side of this island there is fourteen or fifteen fathoms water, but the bottom is rocky, and bad anchorage, which makes the navigators avoid those passages as much as they can.

We had light winds from the west-north-west on the 24th, and we coasted close to the shore, which appeared to be clear of dangers. It is flat, and covered to the sea-side with lofty trees like those of the river of Achen. Five leagues inland there are high and bare hills. The currents run six hours south-east and six south-west. Our Portuguese pilots told us that besides these currents there was at this season another out at

sea, running north-west. In case of calms there is good anchorage a short league from the shore, in twenty-five to thirty fathoms, with a bottom of slimy sand. Towards noon the wind freshened and veered to north-east and then to south. We passed the river of Pedir. From the 24th to the 25th we had rain and light winds from south-west. Towards eight o'clock we sighted a Chinese junk skirting the shore. We fired a shotted gun at him, for his boat to come on board of us. The poor people hesitated, and only came in great alarm. They were Chinese settled in Johore. They were last from Malacca, and bound for Achen. We asked if they had heard of any English pirates. But they had no other knowledge of them than that such commonly frequented Pulo Condor and Pulo Timor, and had lately plundered a Portuguese ship. These Chinese saluted us with five swivels, and we returned the salute with one gun ; whereupon they went their way, and we ours.

All that day we steered east $\frac{1}{4}$ south-east along shore a league off. We saw many pleasant pepper plantations, and much rice. These Malays are said to be cannibals.

On the morning of the 26th we passed Pulo Pisang, where we saw a Chinese junk at anchor, and several boats fishing. There were soundings at forty fathoms, with a slimy, sandy bottom. The prevailing wind was very light, south to north-north-west. The needle stood in the evening at 5 deg. 23 min. We had made about thirty-five leagues from Achen

The night of the 26th we had rain and thunder, with the wind steady and fresh at west-south-west. In the morning it veered to north-north-east. At noon we found seven fathoms of water at a league and half from the shore, with a muddy bottom. Between two headlands at Point Diamond there is a dangerous reef, with rocks running out a league, not noticed in the charts. We stood out to sea to thirty-five fathoms depth.

From the 27th to the 28th the wind was light at north-north-east and south-south-east. We coasted at three leagues off, and took soundings of forty to twenty fathoms, with the bottom muddy, and a slimy sand. Till midnight the wind was at north-north-west, and all the

following night it freshened a little at south-south-west.

The 29th we ran at three to four leagues off shore, in soundings of twenty-two to thirty-five fathoms, with a muddy bottom. We met little current. From Point Diamond to the south-east the shore is low, and covered with lofty trees standing apart, and looking at a distance like ships in full sail. High lands are seen far in the interior. At night the wind was east and north-east. The morning of the 30th we distinguished Pulo Varela, six leagues to the east-south-east. It then appeared to be round, and covered with wood. It is lofty in proportion to its extent, so that it seems much nearer than it really is. It is about twenty-five leagues from Diamond Point.

All day long the wind was light from east-north-east and east-south-east. We tacked in order to near the island, but the current was contrary. Towards the afternoon we saw rather a large ship, which passed two leagues to windward of us. By night the wind changed. It came strong off the land. We steered east and east $\frac{1}{4}$ south-east to examine Pulo Jarra;

but the wind soon fell, and it was a calm as before.

We anchored at midnight in twenty fathoms, with a slimy sand bottom, a league and a half north of Pulo Varela. We sent the boat ashore to catch turtle, which the Portuguese told us were abundant there. Accordingly the people got four of two to three hundred pounds weight each. The others had already taken to the water.

Pulo Varela is about five leagues from the large island of Sumatra. It is half a league round, very lofty, and covered with various sorts of trees with fine foliage. A sand-bank runs out from its south side, and turtle are taken there. We found a stream of excellent fresh water, said to be medicinal. We also found jack fruits and other kinds wild. The other sides of the island are steep, with very difficult landing. Malay pirates are said to harbour here, so that it is imprudent to land without being well armed. Ships anchor generally a quarter of a league off shore to the south-east of the island, in eight to twelve fathoms, with a bottom of slimy sand.

All the morning of the 31st we had rain and a dead calm. Towards evening we landed again to spend the night ashore, and take turtle. But at nine o'clock the wind freshened, and we were recalled by a gun; so we joined the ship, which was already under sail. All night the wind blew hard from the west, with heavy rain. We steered east-south-east.

At daybreak the 1st of September we were twelve leagues from Pulo Varela, about one west $\frac{1}{4}$ north-west, and eight from Pulo Jarra, which was north-east. They are both lofty, and about the same extent. It was calm almost all the morning. Towards three P.M., the current being contrary, we anchored in fifty fathoms, with a bottom of hard mud, six leagues south $\frac{1}{4}$ south-west of Jarra. Whilst we were at anchor the current carried the flood tide to south-south-west, and the ebb to north-north-east.

We weighed anchor towards six at night, with a light breeze from north-west. In the night the wind changed to north-east. We steered still south-east.

At three A.M., the 2nd, we continued to have

severe gales from the south-west, and much rain. At daybreak we saw Pulo Arroa, south-west $\frac{1}{4}$ west, nine leagues off. Soundings were forty fathoms, with a bottom of slimy sand. It was calm the whole morning, and the current eastward was so strong that we suddenly lost sight of Pulo Arroa. We anchored at ten in forty fathoms, with the same bottom. The main land was then descried from the mast-head, about fifteen leagues off to the north-east. Whilst we were at anchor the current ran in all directions, but for the most part east and west.

Of our two Portuguese pilots, one had never been in this strait before, and the other, who was extremely near-sighted, wished to examine Pulo Arroa more close, but, as the wind was fair, we weighed anchor towards midnight. Then, upon a change from north-west to strong north-east, we steered south-south-east, south-east and south-east $\frac{1}{4}$ east, under easy sail, with soundings in thirty-five fathoms, with a bottom of mud, slimy sand, and small black gravel. That night we saw several shoals of small fish, showing banks to be near.

At about four o'clock on the 3rd, the wind

blew east-north-east, we had much rain. The lightning struck the ship, and knocked three sailors down. They were overpowered by the stench of brimstone. At seven the wind chopped to south-east; the current was contrary, bearing north-west. We anchored in thirty-five fathoms, with a bottom of slimy sand. The main land bore east-south-east.

We hoisted sail about ten, steering still south-east, south-east $\frac{1}{4}$ east and east-south east, with soundings from thirty-five to twenty. The wind was north-west and fresh. At five o'clock the depth of water was suddenly so little as fifteen fathoms, with a similar bottom. A very low wooded shore showed itself from this point, at three leagues distance, as heretofore. Then a high point was seen east $\frac{1}{4}$ south-east, which our chief pilot, who had been here in 1688, in the "Oriflamme," declared was the Hill of Parcelar. But the Portuguese pilot was not certain; on the contrary, he was in great embarrassment. We therefore anchored till next day, in thirteen fathoms, with a muddy bottom.

The whole morning of the 4th, the wind

was south-east, and the current contrary. At noon the tide was low, and the water sank two fathoms. The flood tide bore south-south-east, and the ebb north-north-west, at the rate of at least a league an hour. The shore was hid in fog, and we durst not weigh anchor. A bark was also anchored near us to the east.

At two o'clock our chief pilot and the Portuguese went in the boat to take soundings east quarter south-east and east-south-east. Towards four it freshened from north-west. We weighed anchor, and followed our boat, which could only be seen from the mast-head. We steered one league south-east, south-east quarter east, and south-south-east, with soundings from thirteen to seven fathoms, and a muddy bottom. We anchored again at half-past five.

The boat joined us; and the two pilots, who had gone close to the shore, agreed that we were right in the straits of Parcelar, and must make sail. They had nowhere, however, found more than six to five fathoms, and the place was an open sea. Our own chief pilot, indeed, was so positive, that, trusting to his judgment, we weighed anchor, and sailed half a league east-

south-east. We held on the same course till the soundings fell to four fathoms and a half, and should have run upon the banks, if M. de le Rigaudiere, from the mast head, had not told the Portuguese pilot that they saw two little islands south-east $\frac{1}{4}$ east, and the chart of the strait gave none from Parcelar to Malacca. The error was then acknowledged, with the admission that the current must have carried us north-west of the shoals of Callan. We had no choice but to anchor, with six fathoms and half, and soft muddy bottom. At midnight the sea was low, the strong ebb had borne north-north-west. The sea had sunk two fathoms and a half, only a depth of four fathoms remaining.

Our error arose from not having well observed Pulo Arroa, and from having been under easy sail whilst the current, of which we knew so well the direction, carried us north. This is the reason why, if there is not a good wind, a ship must be anchored in twenty-four to thirty fathoms. In certain localities there are spots where the soundings give twenty-four to eighteen, and from eighteen to two.

The 5th, at about six in the morning, as the

tide ebbed, we set sail with a good wind north-north-west. We steered north-west ¼ west and west-north-west. From seven fathoms we passed to five and a half, and then up to thirteen, and so on deeper and deeper. At noon we saw a sail to windward. We hailed her with a shotted gun and brought her to. They readily told us where we were, for our pilots were completely lost. She was a Malay vessel, from Bato-Balou to Salango, with ten men and two women on board. Their captain was a Macassar, and spoke very good Portuguese. We found three swivels, a musket, several swords, and daggers in the vessel. We demanded their commission, and why they were thus armed? Their explanation was, that a neighbouring prince having invaded them they were compelled to withdraw. As to their arms, they had bought them of a Portuguese to defend themselves from pirates.

We then held on our course south-west and south-west ¼ south, and kept the vessel in tow. The chief men came on board the "Amphitrite," that we might interrogate them at leisure. Towards three we sighted Pulo Arroa,

to the south-south-west. It consists of a group of islets and rocks, which last are about twenty leagues off. Pulo Jarra to the south $\frac{1}{4}$ south-east and north quarter-north west.

We sailed as near to it as possible, and anchored about seven P.M., in fifty-two fathoms, with a muddy bottom. The largest of the Arroa islands bore south-west $\frac{1}{4}$ west, and the farthest off south-west $\frac{1}{2}$ south, 4 deg. south, about three leagues and a half. This last is a huge rock shaped like a hat. It serves as a beacon to thread the shoals. Its bearing to the Parcelar is east, 5 deg. south and west, and north about eighteen leagues off.

It was high tide about half-past eight. The ebb ran north-north-west, the flood south-south-east.

At daybreak, the 6th, we weighed anchor with a light breeze from south quarter south-east, and steered east $\frac{1}{4}$ south-east, as near the wind as possible. Towards nine, as the tide began to ebb, we again cast anchor, in forty fathoms. The beacon bore south-west, 3 deg. south, seven leagues off; and the Hill of Parcelar bore east south-east 5 deg. east, eleven

leagues off. This mountain has a very striking appearance. It rises alone from a very low plain, two or three leagues inland. At noon we saw in the direction of the main land a vessel standing northward.

At three, with a south wind and the tide favourable, we made sail. We steered east-south-east. Half an hour afterwards we saw breakers, and suddenly the soundings were nine fathoms. We sent the boat to take the depth ahead, and also tacked to seaward. The boat found the same depth of water; so we tacked to the eastward, and ran some time in nine fathoms, with a bottom of white sand; then in ten and eleven fathoms, with a bottom of sand, black stones, and shells mixed. We anchored at six in the evening in fifteen fathoms, with a bottom of slimy sand. The Hill of Parcelar bore east quarter south-east, 3 deg. south, six leagues off.

All night of the 6th a gale blew hard to the north. We drove, and were obliged to let go a second anchor. It was low tide at half-past two in the morning, the ebbing steady north west.

At seven next morning, with a north-west

light breeze, we weighed anchor, and steered east quarter south-east and east-south-east, and south-east quarter east, for above two leagues and one-twelfth. The soundings were fifteen fathoms to nine, and then from nine up to eighteen. The bottom was broken, and of slimy sand. We anchored at ten in eighteen fathoms, with a hard bottom, The Hill of Parcelar bore east south east, 5 deg. east, at four leagues distance.

We now dismissed the Malay vessel. These poor people were for two days in great terror. They were probably some of the pirates of the straits, but as their story never faltered, we were obliged to let them go.

About three o'clock we set sail with the advantage of the flood tide and a light west-north-west breeze. We ran south-east and south-east $\frac{1}{4}$ east, in fifteen to twenty-five fathoms, with a bottom of slimy sand. At six the Hill of Parcelar bore east 4 deg. south, and distant four leagues and a half. We steered now south-east to clear a point which bore four leagues south-east $\frac{1}{4}$ east. Towards nine and a half P.M. we anchored in twenty-one

fathoms, in a bottom of grey sand. Parcelar bore east-north-east 5 deg. north, five leagues off. The gale blew hard all night from west-north-west.

We sailed at four A.M. of the 8th, with a light wind west south-west, and steered south-east quarter east along the coast. By eight the wind freshened south-west, and by noon we doubled Cape Rachado, about ten leagues south-east of Parcelar. About two, the wind having much abated, and the ebb being against us, we anchored in twenty-five fathoms, with a bottom of sand, shells, and large pebbles. Cape Rachado bore north-west quarter north, two leagues off, and the coast of Sumatra looked seven leagues off, low and woody, bearing south-west.

A league south-east of Cape Rachado is a large river, where the coast forms a fine inlet. The Dutch trade there is tin, masts, and planks, which they sell to the Arabs.

At five P.M. we got under weigh, with a light north-north-east breeze. We steered south-east quarter east, east-south-east, and east quarter south-east, to skirt the coast. We never found

ess than twelve to fifteen fathoms, and everywhere a good bottom. At seven we anchored in twenty fathoms, with a coarse slimy sand. A league to the south-east was a huge rock at half a league from the shore.

There are other sunken rocks in the same spot, but they are much nearer the land. We were five leagues from Malacca, and Cape Rachado, but north-west eight leagues off, looking like a large islet detached from the main land. All night long, as before, we had strong winds from west-north-west, with rain.

VI.

MALACCA.

THE 8TH TO THE 11TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1698.

THE 9th, at daybreak, M. Geraldin went in the cutter to the fort of Malacca to pay M. de la Roque's respects to the governor, and settle the salutes. Father Dolzé, a German, who spoke

Dutch well, accompanied him in a lay dress. We weighed anchor with a light west-south-west breeze, and ran into eighteen to twenty fathom soundings all the way. At the third of a league seaward, abreast of the point of Balantiga, there is a sunken rock with only four feet at low water, and eighteen fathoms close to it. Upon steering wide of the point of Balantiga, we discovered the isles of Aguado, that of Etienne, and the Church of St. Paul upon a mound in the fort. We left Etienne head a gun-shot to larboard with fifteen and sixteen fathoms water. We then anchored in nine fathoms with a mud bottom three-quarters of a league off the fort, which bore east-north-east 5 deg. north. The only vessels in the road were three Arabs, and a little Dutchman employed as a packet-boat. Our cutter came back. The officers had received much attention from the Dutch authorities. We saluted the fort with seven guns, which were returned. In the evening the gover nor sent us a present of refreshments. Next day, he offered M. de la Roque a country house a quarter of a mile from the town.

Malacca is 2 deg. 15 min. north of the

line. The road is extensive, and the bottom good; but there is no shelter from north-west to south gales. The sea ran south-east 5 deg. east, and north-west 5 deg. west. The sea falls fifteen feet. The best anchorage for ships only passing is to leave the porch of St. Paul's church upon the mount, bearing north-east 5 deg. east, at a distance of one league and a half.

All merchant ships anchoring in the road pay a certain duty, or rather a tax, which is called the *golden loaf*, and which amounts to four or five hundred livres, according to the burthen of the ships. The Portuguese first laid it on, and the Dutch exact it since they held the place. Two months ago an amusing dispute occurred here on the subject. A Portuguese man-of-war from Goa to Macao anchored in passing the fort. The governor sent on board to pay his respects, and to demand the *golden loaf*. The captain, being angry at the demand, replied that "he would only pay in cannon shot." But if any Dutch ships had been in the road they would assuredly have compelled payment.

The town of Malacca is well peopled. Chinese and Arab merchants are always to be found there.

The first have a pagoda—the latter a mosque. There are also many Portuguese in the place, but they are poor. The river separates the town from the fort. It is, however, narrow, shallow, and difficult of entrance. Vessels only one hundred to one and fifty tons ride there. It runs round half the town, and by means of a sluice constructed by the Dutch, it can surround the fort completely. The fort is extensive, built of stone, and provided well with mounted guns. A garrison of two hundred to two hundred and fifty men defend it. The men are Dutch, French, Germans, and Spaniards, picked up in all parts of the globe. The place was taken by the Dutch from the Portuguese in 1641, in some degree through the treachery of its governor. The Chapandar, or Dutch fiscal, lives in the town at the quay where they land.

The 10th, the coxswain of our long boat and three sailors deserted. The Chapandar sent the sailors back next day. The coxswain did not return.

About two in the night of the 10th, a violent gale from west-south-west drove the ship in shore into four fathoms only. We let go a

second anchor, not choosing to moor for so short a time. We then tacked all night to get out.

The same night, at nine, one of the Dutch sailors taken in at the Cape was drowned in trying to swim to an Arab vessel on anchor within side of us.

At ten next day, we weighed anchor with a light south-east wind. We now discharged the Portuguese pilots, and took in their room two English pilots who happened to be there, and offered their services to the captain.

VII.

FROM MALACCA TO GOVERNOR'S STRAIT.

THE 11TH TO THE 18TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1698.

WE steered south-south-west above a league, the wind being light and contrary. At one P.M. we anchored in sixteen fathoms with a mud bottom, one and a-half league off the fort, which

bore east quarter north-east. At about eight P.M. we again set sail with the flood tide, the wind ranging south-south-east to west-south-west. We varied our course with the wind, and anchored at two A.M. in twenty-five fathoms, with a mud bottom. Malacca bore north quarter north-west, 3 deg. north, six leagues off.

The 12th Oct., nine A.M., we set sail with the flood tide, and a light wind south-south-east. We made two leagues, and anchored at one P.M. At nine P.M. we set sail with the flood, and a light breeze east-south-east. We steered to south-south-west and south-south-east, making little way for want of strength on the tide. We anchored at two A.M. in twenty-four fathoms and a slimy sand bottom. All night it lightened, with thunder and a little rain.

The 13th, we set sail at about nine A.M., but the wind was very light, and we made scarcely any more way than yesterday. We anchored at two P.M. in twenty-five fathoms, with a muddy bottom. From this point the Rondo Island, standing the farthest at sea of all the islands in the Malacca road, bore north-west quarter north, 4 deg. north, eight leagues off; and

the island Formosa bore north-east 5 deg. east, five leagues off.

That night we set sail at nine P.M., with a light breeze from east-north-east. We steered south-east quarter south for an hour after midnight, when we anchored in twenty-six fathoms, with a mud bottom.

At daybreak the 14th, we set sail with a strong south-west wind, and steered south-east three and a half to four leagues off the coast. Mount Formosa bore north quarter north-east 3 deg., six leagues off; and the island of Sumatra was seen to the south-west, four leagues off. Our soundings gave only nineteen fathoms, with a mixed bottom of grey sand, black sand, and shells. Our English pilots made us come to south-east quarter east, because at that very time, they said, we must be near a sunken rocky shoal; and our soundings fell all at once to twenty-three and twenty-four fathoms, with a bottom of hard blue mud, which is the true ground of the strait. At half-past one P.M., we anchored in twenty-seven fathoms, hard mud. It was a dead calm. The Formosa mountains bore north-north-west, six leagues

off; north east, 4 deg. north, three and a half leagues off; Pulo Pisang bore east half south-east 3 deg. east, at the same distance; and the Cardemon islands bore south-east, ten leagues off.

We set sail again at four P.M., with a light breeze north-west, steering east quarter south west, in order to skirt Pulo Pisang. We anchored at seven P.M. in twenty-five fathoms, having made but one league way. The currents were hardly perceptible. They ran the next night near twelve hours, north-west and west-north-west. It was flood tide in the open sea, and no longer the ebb as before.

The 15th, at about two A.M., we weighed anchor with a good wind at south-south-west and south-west quarter south. For eight leagues we steered steadily south-east, in twenty-three to twenty-four fathoms, and a muddy bottom. We coasted along Pulo Pisang, which, at four P.M., was one and a half league off. At eleven P.M., with a dead calm, we anchored in twenty-four fathoms, with a mud bottom. Pulo Pisang bore north-west quarter north, five deg. north, eight leagues off. Pulo Capras bore north,

quarter north east, two leagues off. The peak of the great Cardemon towards Sumatra bore south quarter south-east, 5 deg. off. The little Cardemon bore south-east quarter south, 3 deg. south, three and a half leagues off. All the time we were at anchor the flood ran north-west.

Towards six P.M. we set sail with a good south-east wind. We ran above two and a half leagues south-south-west and south half south-west, as near the wind as possible. Our soundings ranged from nineteen to thirteen fathoms, with a mud bottom all the way. The wind shifting to south-south-east, we tacked eastward; but the flood tide being contrary, we made no way. After the second tack we came back to the very same spot, and closer to Pulo Capras than before. So we were compelled to anchor here.

We were in fifteen fathoms, with a muddy bottom. The flood-tide ran all night north-west. In this latitude it flows ten or twelve hours, the ebb is sometimes only four.

The 16th, A.M., we weighed anchor and tacked south-west and south-west quarter south,

on one tack, and east on the other tack. The ebb tide began about nine. To windward we saw two ships coming up with us. We bore down upon them, and towards eleven o'clock nearing them, we fired a shotted gun at them. They hove to, and we anchored close together at seventeen fathoms, with a muddy bottom.

They were two English vessels, belonging to Mr. Delton, which came from Johore, and were bound for Cochin. They had cargoes of salt, rice, and sugar. They had sailed by the strait of Singapore, to keep clear of pirates. There they fell in with a Dutch sloop despatched by the Governor of Malacca to Batavia, to give notice of a French ship having passed for China.

From this anchorage we saw two other sail standing to the mainland. Pulo Capras bore north-west quarter north, four deg. north, three leagues off; and the peak of the Cardemon towards the strait, bore south quarter south-east, 4 deg. south, four and a half leagues off. We drifted with the tide.

Towards six at night the English sailed. We weighed anchor at nine P.M., as the tide began to ebb, but it was weak. The south-south-east

wind was strong, and we tacked south-west and east. Towards midnight we anchored in seventeen fathoms, having made no more than a league way. We, however, avoided the flood tide.

The 17th, in the morning, we set sail with a light wind east-south-east, and tacked. We steered south quarter south-east 5 deg., with soundings at fifteen to twenty-three fathoms, and a mud bottom. The wind shifting south-east quarter south, we stood east quarter north-east. We kept at two leagues and two and a half from the shore of the Cardemons, in about mid channel; one of the vessels we had seen the evening before had stood towards the mainland, the other to the Cardemons. We bore down upon the latter, and fired three cannon shot at her before bringing her to. At length she brought to; and at about noon we anchored together in eighteen fathoms, with a mud bottom. The little Cardemon bore west-south-west three deg. south, two and a-half degrees off. From the mast-head we saw three trees at the entrance of the Governor's strait. The vessel's boat came on board us with four men.

She was a large Malay bark, from Manicolo, laden with slaves and fighting-cocks for the king of Johore, sent as a present by a chief of Sumatra; we demanded their commission. Two of the men went back to ask their captain for it. He returned with them himself. He was a portly, handsome man, and haughty. He referred boldly to the King of Johore as his sovereign, but produced no papers. When we pressed him, he offered to send to his cabin for his commission; but two men whom he despatched for this object, instead of pulling direct for his vessel, drifted gradually with the tide, and escaped ashore to the mainland.

This trick convinced us they were pirates, so we sent our cutter to overhaul their vessel, where we found ten cross swivels, some muskets, swords, a chest full of flags, some dollars, gold dust, jewels, worked and rough, and two very heavy chests, which were not opened; but they seemed to be full of coin. The cutter brought back all their people, forty in number. These men, when examined apart, gave contradictory replies, we had therefore no doubt of their being pirates, nevertheless M. de la Roque

had scruples as to seizing them, and sent all of them back with their arms.

Not long before, a similar vessel had plundered an English ship sailing out of Johore, killing all her people except two Lascars, who escaped in a boat, and brought intelligence of the act, and scuttling her. The King of Johore protects these fellows for the sake of a bribe they pay him.

The same day we buried our boatswain's mate, who died of dysentery, At nine P.M. we sailed with a strong wind south-east $\frac{1}{4}$ east. We tacked till midnight, but could make no way against the current. At the second tack we came back to where we started from, that is to say, near the Malay barque, which was still at anchor. It was flood-tide from one P.M., which lasted till seven next morning. It ran violently north-west for eighteen hours, but without any rising or falling of the water.

The 18th, at seven A.M., with a light fresh breeze from east quarter south-east, we weighed anchor, steering south quarter south-east. The current was in our favour; and at eleven A.M. we saw clearly the trees which are a beacon to thread

the Governor's Straits. These trees are upon an extensive low sandy strand. They bear upon the little Cardemon east quarter south-east, and west quarter north-west, four leagues off. They are three in number, and very striking. They look at a distance like three vessels in a line. They are at equal distances apart. Beyond the bank there are two others, very lofty and well grown, as the three first are. It is unsafe to near them without sounding, especially from west-north-west, in which direction a bank runs more than a league to sea. We found fourteen to seventeen fathoms, and in a strait with a mud bottom ; but sailing too near the shore, we suddenly fell to ten fathoms. At that instant the tide bore south quarter south-east 4 deg. south, one and a quarter leagues off. We stood out a little. The wind shifted to south-south-east and south quarter south-west. We skirted the shore at half a league distance, and left it to the south. We then steered east-south-east in fourteen and fifteen fathoms, with a sandy bottom, leaving the Governor's Island half a league to the north. We afterwards stood on in twenty-four fathoms, with a rocky bottom.

As we entered the Governor's Strait, there came out of one of the islands to the south a little Malay boat laden with fish. These poor people paddled for two hours to reach the ship. We bought their fish to their great satisfaction. The current did not favour us for two hours, still it was not much against us. At seven we anchored in seventeen fathoms, with a bottom of large sand. The peak of Governor's Island bore west $\frac{1}{4}$ south west, 3 deg. west, two leagues off. The peak of St. John's bore north east $\frac{1}{4}$ east, three deg. east, two and a half leagues off. We escaped the flood tide, which ran west.

What is termed the Governor's Strait is south of Sincapore Strait. It extends five leagues from Governor's Island to St. John's. On both sides there are innumerable islets covered with trees, and for the most part inhabited by Malays. The depth in mid-channel is from twenty-five to twenty-eight fathoms, the bottom rocky. The south shore is dangerous, from a rock level with the water, which stretches into the stream. The north shore is safer, and it may be skirted, especially when the wind blows off it; there is

fifteen to twenty fathoms water, with a sandy bottom. Ships can water also in St. John's Island to the north-west.

VII.

FROM GOVERNOR'S ISLAND TO THE LUNETTES.

THE 18TH TO THE 28TH OF OCTOBER, 1698.

THE flood tide lasted only till eleven this night. We swung with the ebb, and towards midnight set sail with a light breeze from the east. We made short tacks, and drove with the tide for some time, not to get too near the south shoals. At half past two A.M., passing St. John's, abreast of the island, we met with alarming eddies in the tide, and we should have expected to be running upon rocks, if we had been previously informed of it. Many ships will not obey the rudder here, and they drift away. The soundings are from thirty-five to fifty-five fathoms, with a rocky bottom

After passing St. John's Island we skirted the shore, carefully keeping to the north side as much as possible; but it must not be approached nearer than eighteen fathoms.

The 19th, at six P.M., the flood tide being against us, we anchored in twenty fathoms, with a bottom of slimy sand and gravel. Over against the mouth of the river of Johore, bearing north-north-east, one league off, we had the peak of St. John's south west $\frac{1}{4}$ west, 3 deg. west, three and a half leagues off; and the peak of Romania east-north-east, 5 deg. north, sixteen leagues off. The flood tide was not very strong. Towards eleven A.M., in the open sea, a stiff breeze came on from south-west. To take advantage of it, we prepared to weigh anchor; but, hoisting the main topsail too soon, the cable snapped and we lost the anchor, for we had anchored here, as in many other places, with only one rope. We now steered east and east-south-east, one and a half leagues from the shore, in fifteen to twenty-five fathoms, the bottom very loose, with sand, gravel, and mud. The islets at the headland of Romania bore north-east $\frac{1}{4}$ east, two leagues

off. The Hill of Bintang bore south-east 5 deg. east, seven leagues off. Pedro Branco bore east 4 deg. north, three leagues off. This rock was only seen from the mast head; it is very low, and a league further out than is marked in the charts.

The headland of Romania closes the strait to the north, and that of Bintang to the south. Against the former are seven islets and several sunken rocks, stretching from the shore. Upon the other headland two mountains rise near each other, serving as marks of the entrance into the strait from the eastward.

Towards eight P.M. we set sail with a light south wind checking the tide, and carrying us well out of the strait. After much labour we stood out in mid channel, between Pedro Branco and the headland of Romania; we went no nearer to the south shore than twenty-four fathoms, and to the north than eighteen. At about two next morning we thought ourselves enough to the east to defy all danger from the headland of Romania; we had to make north east quarter east, but suddenly fell from fifteen fathoms to nine fathoms, and the water failing

every minute, we were obliged to hold our wind, and run east-south-east.

At daybreak, the 20th, we were six long leagues away. The headland of Romania bore west-south-west 5 deg. south, seven leagues off; and the mountains of Bintang bore south-south-west 5 deg. south, twelve leagues off. We had fifteen fathoms of water. The wind was south-east, and veered at last to south-south-west. We steered north-east ¼ north,—north-north-east, and due north at noon, when we lost sight of land, and were in lat. 1 deg. 20 min. north.

Toward three P.M., we made out Pulo Tingy seven leagues off, bearing north-west 5 deg. west, and Pulo Laor 5 deg. off, bearing north ¼ north-west. The mainland bore due west and low. The wind, till evening, and all that night, ranged from west-south-west to south-south-west.

During the night of the 20th to daybreak on the 21st, we passed between Pulo Laor and Pulo Pisang, leaving the former to starboard, and the latter with Pulo Timor to larboard. Along this whole passage there is ground in fourteen or eighteen fathoms, and good anchorage in almost all directions among these islands.

The best is westward of Pulo Laor. The natives there are good people, and very friendly, because they see European ships go by daily. They are Malays, subject to the king of Johore, who is himself tributary to the king of Siam.

The currents here are dangerous, so that much depends upon the depth of water. When sailing from the straits of Malacca towards Pulo Timor, you must not run eastward out of twenty fathoms, or at more than twenty-five fathoms. From Pulo Timor to Pulo Condor you should be the same, and never exceeding thirty fathoms. In calms great caution is wanted, and you must anchor early. If you exceed forty fathoms the bottom will suddenly fail, and the currents carry the ship upon the coast of Borneo, from whence it is often difficult to regain your course.

From Pulo Timor we steered north-north-east to make on Pulo Condor. The lat. was 3 deg. 40 min.

The 22nd, having the same wind, we still steered north-north-east, with a slight bearing towards the north to allow for the eastward currents. There was also here 3 deg. of variation north-west, which helped our making. Our lat. at noon was 5 deg. 40 min. Towards

dark, the depth of water was thirty-two fathoms, in a soft mud bottom; so we stood on our north-north-east course. Had this sounding given from thirty-five to thirty-eight fathoms, we should have steered on north. If, on the contrary, it had been less than twenty-five, we should have steered north-east ¼ north.

The 23rd, we had the same winds, south-west, and south-south-west, fair and fresh. At four A.M., finding only twenty-three fathoms of water, we steered north-east ¼ north till noon. The bottom was small gravel. The lat. by reckoning was 7 deg. 57 min. We then stood due north and north ¼ north-west to hold the wind, and running in twenty-two, twenty, eighteen, and sixteen fathoms. The bottom was fine sand and muddy sand.

The 24th, at two A.M., we sighted Pulo Condor bearing north-west ¼ north, four leagues off. We anchored in twenty-two fathoms, in a bottom of muddy sand. The current ran north-west and west-north-west till five A.M. At daybreak we weighed anchor and sailed to within two leagues of the land. M. de la Roque was disposed to anchor again and take in some water and wood; but the wind shifted to west-

north-west so as to prevent us. The current too, being south-east, was contrary.

Pulo Condor is a group of four or five islands, forming a very good port. It is upon the coast of Cambogia, in lat. 80 deg. north. There are always some Cochin Chinese here fishing. In the woods there are many wild pigs and serpents.

Towards noon, when we were seven leagues off the island, the wind veered to west-south-west, as before. We steered east-north-east, to get a sight of Pulo Ceir of the Sea. It is a huge rock, four or five leagues off, in the parallel of 9 deg. 4 min. latitude.

The 25th, at four P.M., being thirty-eight to forty leagues from Pulo Condor, we changed our course to north-north-east. At seven we saw Pulo Ceir of the Sea, distant four leagues to the north-east. At the same time, from the masthead, we saw another rock or island, to the north, which our English pilots named Pulo Ceir of the Land. Pulo Ceir of the Sea looks, from the south, like a huge tower in ruins. From the east it is shaped like a shoe, whence the Portuguese call it the Isle of Copato. After leaving it to the west we steered north

east ¼ north. The latitude at noon was 10 deg. 12 min. north.

The 25th, towards two P.M., we steered north-east, as our pilots were uneasy at going too near the tail of the Pracel. The Pracel is a rocky shore, stretching north and south one hundred leagues. At daybreak we began to steer north ¼ north-east, to clear this shoal. The latitude was 12 deg. 4 min. at noon. The current ran east-north-east, and this day we left several dangerous places at starboard.

The 27th, our fair wind from the south-west fell off, and it was a calm almost all day. We steered on north ¼ north-east. The latitude was 14 deg. 56 min.

The next night the wind chopped to north-west, with fog, and we much apprehended the typhoon. By way of precaution, we had for several days put our guns from off the deck into the bottom of the hold, as this wind is a sort of a hurricane, and exceedingly violent—it may last three days.

The 28th, at ten A.M., we saw the Lunettes, covered with breakers, three leagues ahead of us to the north-east. They are a group of rocks in a triangular shape, eight to ten leagues

east of the head of Pracel on the charts. We were in lat. 15 deg. 25 min. by reckoning. The wind shifted from north-west to north quarter north east, and was very light. We tacked all day. The currents drifted us to north-north west, and at the Lunettes bore east-south-east. We tacked all the next night to make northing.

It was an unpardonable imprudence, amounting to gross rashness on the part of our senior English pilot, to take us into so perilous a passage with which he was not himself acquainted. Besides, the season was absolutely against us. Seeing that the north-east winds were beginning to prevail, it was absolutely necessary to have taken our course east of Manilla, and to leave these rocks to windward. But we Frenchmen are unfortunately infatuated in favour of foreigners, and ready to trust them blindly, often in spite of reason.

Signor Ghirardini's lively narrative of the dangers described in the text is as follows :—

" At Achen we had taken on board a little monster of a Portuguese as our pilot in this difficult navigation. He could hardly see an inch before him, and lost himself as soon as he

was out of sight of land. Every moment when we were unable to make out where we were, the grand scheme of the little man was to sing out *ancora dar fundo* — 'anchor, anchor.' We obeyed him over and over again every day, and so got on but slowly. This able seaman was not satisfied, however, before he thrust us into a blind islet without three fathoms water, in imminent danger of running upon the rocks, and without the least means of relief. I know well what my unhappy fate would have been, and I freely confess that a sheltered retreat upon the wildest mountains in a civilised region would content me more than to be the king's commander-in-chief over his noblest fleet. The sea was given by providence to the fish—and the land to mankind. Every creature is bound to remain quiet in his own element. I am quite surprised not to see our fine adventurous fellows taking upon them to mount up to the clouds. I am clearly of opinion they would try it could they but lay hold of the good King Roger's Hypogriffs in the poet's romance.

"Che per l'aria neva come legno unto
A cui nel mar propitio vento spira.

"He sails through the air like the barque
Driven over the ocean by a favouring gale."

"However, that disaster was nothing to what befel us the night of the 10th of September before Malacca, when our mainsail was torn to rags, and our cabousse tossed into the sea. We had anchored with one small cable, and our commander was on shore, careless of the coming storm.

"Il vento si sdegnò, che da l'altiero
Sprezzar de vede, a con tempesta rea
Sollerò il mar intorno, con tal rabbia
Che li mando a bagnar sino a la gabbia.

"Boreas, indignant at the insult,
Lashed the ocean into a mountain of waves,
So furiously, that the ship was threatened with destruction.

"Our anchor gave way, and a second did not hold the ship until a third saved her within only two feet of ground. We were thus in danger of being wrecked in the very port itself. The alarm this time exceeded whatever had been felt before. I had predicted the disaster, and told them it was coming. It is an excellent thing to have a man in a ship who never goes

to sleep, and is day and night in a fright. He at any rate saves you from being taken by surprise, whatever may happen.

"They now told us there was a pirate stationed at the extremity of the straits of Malacca, committing all sorts of abominations. He seizes every vessel that passes. He plunders them of their money, and puts every useless hand on board to death. Then he will begin with me. Strange to say, instead of running away from this corsair, our commander is resolved to take him prisoner, or be taken by him. So it always is with these Frenchmen. For my part, no such folly would ever come into my head. My daily prayer is, 'from all encounters with a pirate, *libera nos Domine*—good Lord deliver us'—and this time my prayer was heard. The wind became so contrary that we could never fetch Pulo Condor, where the wretch was thought to be.

"In this dangerous voyage strange events befell me, and which I hold to have been gracious interpositions of providence. I dreamed one night that as I was walking in the dark I lost my shoes in the mud; and next day we lost an

anchor in the mud of the ocean. Again I dreamed of huge rocks our ship was passing through in a strait like a narrow way; and in the morning I said something bad would happen. Indeed, just as I was telling my dream, we discovered frightful rocks right under the ship, with only five or six fathoms of water. The sea ahead was white with breakers, and a heavy hail storm was coming on astern. Every soul on board was horror-struck, and thought all lost. We got back as well and as fast as we could. As the bottom was covered by rocks of unequal heights, we expected to strike upon some of the peaks more elevated than the rest, and go to pieces like a glass. The common confusion in the ship entirely ceased, and a dead silence reigned. A deep gloom prevailed, and the bravest were pale with anxiety. Better models were never seen by a painter for fear and grief. Every man betrayed on his features the extremity of his alarm.

"All this while I feared nothing, and did nothing but laugh. My heart is none of the hardest; I am made neither of marble nor steel. But my system of dreams protected me.

I do believe that if I had not dreamed of my rocks and my narrow pass, I must have died of terror. So a dream will be admitted to have its advantages. These rocks we were among are called the Pracel. They extend an hundred leagues."

VIII.

FROM THE LUNETTES TO THE SANCIAM ISLAND.

THE 28TH OF SEPTEMBER TO THE 5TH OF OCTOBER, 1698.

THE same day, the 28th, Father Bouvet, M. de la Roque, M. Geraldin, and M. de Benac, held a private council. M. Bouvet stated that as they had no prospect of reaching Ningpo at this advanced season against northerly winds, and as Canton, where they were agreed to land, was within two or three days' sail, they should now open the Company's sealed orders, to prepare letters for the Court in Pekin. The fifth packet was accordingly broken open in the pre-

sence of these four, it not being thought needful to assemble all the council.

Father Bouvet remarked upon their fifth orders, that the Company had not used his papers, nor consulted him respecting M. de Benac's journey to Pekin, and that things must be otherwise settled.

To this M. de Benac assented, on condition that the proposed steps should be submitted to a full council at Canton.

For several days afterwards, Father Bouvet and M. de Benac were busy together, separating, in the invoices, the articles best adapted for Pekin, with only an increase of 50 per cent. upon the prices, besides duty, carriage, salaries, &c., as arranged by the four parties at the council.

The 29th, at daybreak, we saw two or three low islands, with breakers on all sides, bearing north to east-north-east, three and a half leagues off, and no soundings. We ran to eight fathoms. Our English pilots were puzzled at the sight of these islands, of which they were ignorant, whilst the charts gave no trace of them. As we had not taken an observation

the day before, they at first thought these islands were those south-east of the island of Hainan, and that the current must have drifted us north. But by next day's observation we found this could not be so, as at noon we were in lat. 16 deg. 27 min. north, so they must have been some islets never before remarked at the head of the Pracel, the preceding night's advance having carried us west-west-north.

The old English pilot asserted that he had before passed between the Lunettes and the Pracel without having seen these islets. He had only heard of one where a Portuguese ship was wrecked. No wood or water could be got there. The survivors had stayed upon the island nine years, with only shell-fish and turtle for food, and rain water to drink. They at last escaped by another ship from Macao happily falling into the same dangerous passage.

We were in an extreme difficulty, and could not decide whether to return or pursue our course. As, however, there were no soundings, the hazard in keeping our wind and standing out to sea was not much. So we steered east, east-

north-east, the wind being north-north-west; we were within a league and a half of one of the islands, with very fine weather. As we made slow way, we did not think of heaving the lead, when towards six P.M. the bottom was seen, and upon sounding we were only in six fathoms water, between prodigious rocks.

There was a great difference of opinion what to do in this dangerous predicament. Some were for going back to west-south-west and south-west, whence we had come, others were for anchoring till daylight. But we could do neither, as heavy weather threatened westward. With the wind astern, we resolved to try to get clear of these islands; so we stood for two hours south-east, and then south in six to fourteen fathoms. We skirted several of the rocks abreast of the ship, with certainly not twenty feet depth of water. At length we got out of the dilemma, and at eight o'clock found no bottom at sixty fathoms. Whilst upon this shoal we saw numerous cuttle fish, and other small fish.

We tacked the rest of the night south-east

quarter east, and north quarter north-west. The wind freshened to north-east.

The 30th, at daybreak, the island of Pracel bore north-west, three leagues off. At noon the latitude was 16 deg. 43 min.

The 1st of October we stood on north $\frac{1}{4}$ north-west and north-west, the wind north-easterly.

The 2nd and 3rd the wind was very light and shifting from east-north-east to east-south-east. We steered north $\frac{1}{4}$ north-east and north-north-east, as near the wind as possible. A heavy swell came on from north-east.

In the night of the 3rd, thinking the ship to be abreast of Hainan, we heaved the lead without finding bottom at one hundred and twenty fathoms. This made us conclude the current had drifted us east-north-east, or rather, that it did not set regularly west, as we thought before.

At four next morning we had an eclipse of the sun that would not be observed in Europe. It began at half-past nine, the moon covering two-thirds of the sun. The latitude at noon was 20 deg. 5 min.

From the 2nd our course north-east ¼ north, 5 deg. north, we ran clear forty-five leagues. We steered north-north-east, with the wind east, the sea very heavy and broken. A little before noon, we had soundings in seventy fathoms, with a bottom of slimy sand. All day long we saw conger eels, and a very turbid sea.

At six P.M. we had soundings in forty-seven fathoms, with the same bottom. We stood on all night under easy sail.

The 5th, at four A.M., we had soundings in thirty-five fathoms and a slimy sand bottom. At seven we sighted lofty islands, bearing north-north-west, six or seven leagues off. We had twenty-four fathoms of water, with fine sand, white, and mixed with mud at bottom. On nearing them we perceived other islands north-east of the former. Our pilots knew none of them; nevertheless, by our course we were convinced they must be the Sancian Islands, and some others near Macao.

Since yesterday we had made twenty-six leagues north, and by reckoning we were in lat. 21 deg. 23 min.

We stood out for some time to double a little island to windward. But as the sea ran high, and we were very doubtful of the proper route, we hauled up under the large island, and there anchored at two P.M., in nine fathoms, with a mud bottom, one league off, west-south-west of its extreme south point.

IX.

FROM SANCIAN ISLANDS TO MACAO.

THE 5TH TO THE 22ND OF OCTOBER.

HERE some of the officers went ashore, with the China merchant who joined the ship at Achen. They landed in a deep sandy inlet, where they found three streams of sweet water, salt works; saw buffalo, and a small plantation of rice. The rest of the country was waste, and covered with bushes. After much search, they found no houses; but saw a naked man at a distance, who ran away to the hill. They

were unwilling to follow him, and came off in the ship with fish caught in the seine, thornbacks, soles, and a great quantity of excellent sardines.

The 6th, early, Father Bouvet himself went in the boat to another inlet to the north, where last evening we saw two boats enter. He took the fishermen by surprise, and brought one on board. This fisherman told us the typhon had set in the 5th of the eighth moon, or about the 9th or 10th of our September; that the point where we were at anchor was called Leaon-tow, and that the tomb of a European saint was on this island, three leagues off. He added, that he had often seen Portuguese and English ships pass west of this island; and that we might anchor in the other inlet, to be more sheltered from the bad weather and outside winds.

We weighed anchor, and went to more further north, in seven fathoms, with a bottom of mud, at three quarters of a league off shore. The wind was east and north-east, and was fresh.

Father Bouvet got the most exact information he could where we were, and asked for the cutter

to proceed to the first city on that coast, engaging to come back soon with Chinese pilots, and even with vessels to tow us, if necessary.

The 7th, at noon, he went on board, accompanied by M. de Beaulieu, our Chinese merchant, and MYSELF. We took provisions for four days, two swivels, and some muskets, in case of being attacked; for those islands abound in plunderers. The same fisherman whom Father Bouvet had brought on board the day before was our guide.

We went first to a large bay north of our anchorage, to some boats, to gain intelligence of three war junks from Shanghae, which were there, about to get up the wreck of a Chinese ship, lost a few months ago, as well as to protect the fishermen against pirates. We found several boats, which all agreed that the junks were in a river at the bottom of the bay. This was confirmed by information obtained across the bay from other fishermen.

This bay is a full league wide, and nearly two deep. It would be very convenient for ships if it were not so shallow. Almost midway we struck upon a sand shoal right across. It was

quite full of boats, fishing for sardines. The people live in their boats, with their wives and children, and with most of their possessions. Upon the island and in the boats, the population is about three thousand.

Towards seven P.M., we entered the river, and sailed up a league between a low, wooded plain, with several canals cut. Our guide pointed out three high hills northward, behind which he said we should find the tomb of St. Francois Xavier.

At eight, we entered a channel where the junks were. Our Chinese friend told a mandarin our object, and Father Bouvet was received on board with great respect and kindness. This mandarin had seen Father Bouvet before in Canton, and offered to attend him to Quanghae, where the governor of the islands resided. We sailed at ten, and fell down the river with the tide. The junk towed us to an anchorage half a league out of the river, in an inlet where we passed the night.

The 8th, at dawn, we sailed to the north of the island, and about noon reached the tomb of St. Francois Xavier, when Father Bouvet sang

the Te Deum. We also fired three rounds of musketry and swivels, in honour of this holy and venerable spot. We found there only a simple block, about six feet high, with a Chinese and Portuguese inscription, stating the date of the erection of this monument. The Portuguese inscription is as follows :—

"A qui foi sepultado san Francisco Xavier da compania de Jesus. Apostolo do Oriente, este pedrao se levanton, anno 1688."

That is to say,—

"Here was buried St. Francois Xavier, a Jesuit, the Apostle of the East."

After looking all around, we re-embarked, and set sail for Quanghae, where we anchored at about five in the evening. Father Bouvet had gone on board the junk, and arrived before us. He went at once to the Governor, to shew him the Emperor's letters on leaving China; and asked for pilots and junks to take the Amphitrite through the islands. He added, that he would go himself to Canton as soon as possible, to give notice of his return.

Father Bouvet afterwards came back to the junk, and slept there. The chief mandarin came

the same evening to pay their respects to him, or sent him letters, as their custom is. Next day, early, the governor came on board, with a grand *cortège* of attendants. He granted all that Father Bouvet asked. They brought him a sedan and four bearers, with fifteen to twenty men to accompany him.

At ten o'clock, after writing letters to M. de la Roque and the other Fathers, he set out for Canton. The junk saluted him with three shots of falconets, and we fired two from our swivels. We remained till two P.M., with our cutter, for some provisions for the ship. We then sailed under convoy of the junk which had taken Father Bouvet. Another smaller junk accompanied us to take us on to Caolan, the residence of the governor of the Island of Viadores, or Stags, to pass us over to another mandarin there. We steered north-north-east all day, with a good wind; and that same night stood into a deep inlet, at the north-west point of Sanciam, where we passed the night.

Next day, the 10th, the junk took us into the great bay, to an inlet where there was deep water. The wind served to carry us to the

ship; but our Chinese pilot thought the sea was too high; and Father Bouvet had told us not to leave them.

The 11th, at day-break, the two other junks, then in the island, joined us, and receiving the mandarin's orders, departed. We hauled in the grapplings, and went on board our ship. The junks anchored astern of the ship, as M. de la Roque and the mandarin exchanged many compliments, and visited each other on board their respective vessels. As it was thought safest to sail east of Sanciam, we considered the junks useless. So three of their men only were detained, with the fisherman already with us, for our guide, to pilot us. The junk, therefore, went in another direction, to bear orders to the governor of the Viadores Islands for other pilots when we should pass.

The 13th, at two P.M., we weighed anchor, with a fair wind, east-north-east; we scudded south-east for seven leagues seaward; and at nine next morning tacked. But, as the wind fell, and the tide drifted us to windward, we were obliged to anchor; we had twenty-three fathoms of water, with a mud bottom, and were

still five leagues off the land. All that day and the next night, the current ran west-south-west, at the rate of one league an hour. These currents seem to follow the winds, and they last all the monsoon. If our Englishmen had not made us go out so far to sea, but we had coasted within a league and half or two leagues of the shore, we must have felt the currents less.

The 14th, at day-break, we set sail with a light east wind. We stood in to land; but got no further ahead than the day before, and that with much difficulty. We then made two or three short tacks along shore; and anchored at six P.M., in twelve fathoms, a short league west-south-west of the island, towards the Point of Leautou.

The 15th, A.M., we set sail with a light north-east wind; we made only two leagues headway all day long. At six P.M. we again anchored in seventeen fathoms, with a mud bottom. The island of Ou-chow bore north-east 6 deg. east, one league and three-quarters off.

The currents still set west. The 16th, early, we tacked again with a north-east wind. At one P.M., as the tide was contrary, we anchored in twenty fathoms, a muddy bottom. The

island of Ou-chow bore north-north-west, 5 deg. north, two leagues off.

At four the same day, we again set sail. The wind shifted to east-north-east and east-south-east, fresh. We steered north-east $\frac{1}{4}$ north for about five leagues, and anchored again, at seven P.M., in sixteen fathoms, with a bottom of mud. The rocks of Paika bore north-north-east, two leagues off. These rocks stretch above a league east to west. They are for the most part high above water, and can be seen four leagues at sea.

The night of the 16th, we had much rain, and a heavy gale from the east.

The 17th, at one P.M., we weighed anchor with a light wind south-south-east. We steered north-east for some time; but as the currents ran still west-south-west, and the run was not strong enough to let us make headway against them, we were obliged to anchor. Paika bore north-east 5 deg. east, one and a half leagues off. We were in eleven fathoms, and a mud bottom.

The 18th, we weighed anchor with a very light east wind. We scudded south-south-east

to within three quarters of a league of Ou-chow. We then stood north-north-east, and anchored at five P.M. in nine fathoms, with a mud bottom. Ou-chow bore south-south-west 3 deg. south, two and a half leagues off. The current had drifted us far eastward.

The 19th, at one P.M., the wind chopped to north and north ¼ north-west, fresh and strong. We weighed anchor and scudded east-north-east, coasting the islands of Viadores. We had heavy rain. We made seven long leagues headway, and at ten next morning anchored in sixteen fathoms, a mud bottom. From the 10th to the 17th, we had the same depth of water and the same bottom. The point of Caolan bore north-west, four leagues off. Our Chinese friends wished to take us to an anchorage to leeward of this island, where their orders limited them, that we might be passed over to another mandarin. But as at about three P.M. the tide served, we preferred taking advantage of it. We were now but ten leagues from Macao.

So we stood on, the wind shifting from north to north-north-west. We tacked east-north-east and north-west, and made about two leagues

ahead. We then anchored at eleven P.M., in sixteen fathoms. The tide was contrary, running south-west. Caolan bore north-west, one and a half leagues off. The most southerly point of the Ladrones bore east-north-east, seven leagues off.

Till noon of the 20th, the wind was at east, fair and fresh, with fog, and a heavy sea. At one P.M., we set sail, scudding and tacking north-north-east into nine fathoms, and south-south-east into fifteen fathoms. We then beat to windward all night, and anchored at nine A.M., the 21st, in ten fathoms, with mud bottom. We had made only two leagues headway, and the point of Matchong, or as the Portuguese call it, the point of Costa Quebrada, bore north-east 5 deg. north, four and a half leagues off. The tide ran west-south-west, the sea being smoother than the preceding day. We sent our cutter to the island of Sancho, to land our pilot and our Chinese soldiers, who wished to go home.

At two P.M., with the flood tide, and the wind at east-north-east, we weighed anchor. We then tacked south-east and north into six fathoms. At two, after midnight, the wind

calmed, so we anchored in eight fathoms, with mud bottom. The point of Matchong bore north ¼ north-east, 5 deg. east, two and a half leagues off, and the south point of the Ladrones bore east-south-east, four leagues off. The sea this night rose two fathoms of water, the ebb running south-south-east. Our cutter did not return, having passed to leeward of all the islands to Macao.

The 22nd, early, a Chinese craft from Canton passed us within pistol-shot, without speaking. She seemed to be destined for the island of Hainan, where the Chinese get much wax, salt, planks, cocoa nuts, and other produce. That island is within the government of Canton.

Towards nine A.M. we set sail with a fair wind north and north-north-west, and by short tacks coasting the islands to westward at six fathoms, and half a league off shore. We saw more than two hundred fishing boats on a bank between the heads of Matchong and the great Ladrones. The wind being still fair and fresh, and the tide in our favour, we reached Macao road that day, and anchored there at four P.M., in six and a half fathoms. The centre of the

town bore north-west quarter west, 5 deg. west, a league and three quarters off. The head of Matchong bore south-west, 5 deg. south, two leagues off. Whilst we were under sail, the cutter made for the ship; but as the sea was high, she missed us, and was obliged to take shelter on a neighbouring island, to join us next day.

X.

MACAO.

THE 22ND TO THE 31ST OF OCTOBER.

NOTWITHSTANDING the bad weather, we had, by a small Chinese boat, news to-day from the town. They informed us that Father Bouvet was come back from Canton. He had gone out four days, seeking us in the Viadores Islands with four junks of the *Caze Blanche*, which the mandarin governor of Macao had placed at his disposal. They thought we should pass within

side these islands. In short, the orders of the viceroy of Canton were express that we should be received well.

Early on the 23rd, M. de la Roque sent M. de la Rigaudiere to Macao, to pay his respects to the mandarin, and to enquire after Father Bouvet.

The 24th, at about eight A.M., a boat came off from the town, very earnest to speak to us; but the sea running too high to permit its approach, it went back. We afterwards learned it had brought out the Provincial of the Jesuits and three Holy Fathers of that society, to visit their brethren on board.

Towards ten, a boat came along-side with a bullock and two dozen fowls, sent by a Portuguese captain to M. de la Roque. It was the commander from whom the Dutch had demanded the *loaf of gold* at Malacca. At eleven, when the north wind a little moderated, and the sea calmed, we set sail, and then anchored nearer the town in five fathoms, with a mud bottom. There we moored. The middle of the town bore north-north-west, one league off. We did not salute.

Towards three P.M., the Portuguese captain, an Augustine monk, the Town Major, and another officer, came off to see M. de la Roque, who entertained them as well as he could; and next day, when they returned, he saluted them with seven guns.

Our boat came back also, and was soon followed by two boats from the mandarin of Macao, laden with refreshments as presents, and lanthorns, streamers, and various marks of dignity from Father Bouvet's brethren. The mandarin had received M. de la Rigaudiere admirably. He also despatched several boats to the islands, to find Father Bouvet.

The 25th, the Jesuits of Macao sent us a large present of fruits and sweetmeats, with strong expressions of their regret that they could not come on board the day before.

Towards noon, M. de la Roque went on shore with most of his officers. We landed in the port on the other side of the town; the Town Major was there to receive M. de la Roque on landing, and attended him to the Portuguese governor, whither he could not with propriety refuse to go, although he had determined to see

the Chinese mandarin first, as we had, above all, to conciliate him.

This consideration engaged M. de Benac to go to the Chinese mandarin alone; but, instead of doing so, his interpreters took him to a mandarin of inferior rank in the custom-house, where he stopped half an hour.

This error made M de la Roque to be at the Chinese governor's nearly as soon as M. de Benac; being perfectly well received, and placed at the mandarin's left hand, at the upper end of the room. That is the mark of honour with the Chinese. He was very attentive to us all, stating that he was delighted to see Frenchmen, having always greatly esteemed our nation. Upon our taking leave, he thanked M. de la Roque for his visit, adding, he should soon have the honour to come on board his ship.

Macao is situated upon the point of a large island, in lat. 22 deg. 13 min. north, and long. 136 deg. 56 min. It was granted to the Portuguese in return for having driven away certain pirates who plundered the Chinese coast, and had a stronghold on the spot where Macao

is built. It is a tongue of land of small extent, about three leagues round. It is separated from the rest of the island by a wall, strictly guarded by the Chinese, to prevent merchandize passing either way. The port is sheltered by several islands from all winds. There is little depth of water, but the bottom is a very soft mud, upon which ships sink at low tides. The only ship here, at present, is the Portuguese man-of-war from Goa, which is to return at the beginning of the monsoon. Three or four small vessels are lading for Java and Timor. Three Portuguese and Spanish ships are expected from Manilla, with a million of dollars, to buy chiefly silk.

In Macao there is a bishop and ten churches. There are Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustans, and Nuns of St. Clair. The Chinese occupy most of the town, and have pagodas. They have also their governor, and a jurisdiction quite independent of the Portuguese.

The 26th we buried a seaman of the reformed church. He had the felicity of abjuring his errors and receiving the sacrament before dying.

At about ten A.M., Father Bouvet anchored in the road with his four junks. Our boat went aboard to bring him away. The soldiers were under arms, and pennants upon all the yards, to do him honour. He said mass upon coming on board. His intelligence from Canton respecting the business of the ship was, that a courier had been sent to Pekin on the 14th of October with despatches, and orders to make all speed; that the Hoppo, the head of the customs department of the province of Canton, had given him pilots, and had assured him we should be passed at all the custom houses without search, and not pay any duty till express orders were received from Pekin.

The Emperor was not then there, but in western Tartary, on a tour of inspection of his recent conquests. He was expected by the end of November, an unusually late period, as he never before stayed away from Pekin beyond September.

The Hoppo had been much puzzled about the marks of distinction and dignity demanded by Father Bouvet for the ship. The Chinese had never before received any strangers, except

either merchant vessels, which are here daily, or vessels carrying tribute, like the kings of Siam, Tonquin, and Cochin China, who do homage to the Emperor once in three years. Even these tributes, however, are no longer rendered with the exactness of former days. The King of Siam does not send his tribute regularly; the Japanese never, at present.

The same day, the 26th, at about noon, the mandarin of Macao came to visit M. de la Roque and Father Bouvet. The Father Bouvet fired a salute of three falconets from his junk, in compliment to the mandarin. M. de la Roque entertained him in the French fashion. He shewed him over the ship, and had the small arms exercise. When he returned to shore Father Bouvet gave him the junk to land in; he accepted it, and then saluted us with three shots off the falconets, which we returned with seven guns. The other junks went into port that night.

The 27th, M. de la Roque and Father Bouvet went to Green Island to visit Father Ciceri, a Jesuit, and Bishop of Nankin. He is a native of Italy. This day, also, the mandarin sent

M. de la Roque a present of a fully prepared banquet. It consisted of more than one hundred little porcelain dishes of game, turkeys, fowls, fish, fruits, and sweetmeats, all dressed in the Chinese way.

XI.

FROM MACAO TO WHAMPOA.

THE 28TH OF OCTOBER TO THE 3RD OF NOVEMBER, 1698.

WE had on the 28th set sail for Canton at five A.M, with the flood tide and a light north wind. We stood out to sea to reach mid-channel; and at eight A.M. anchored again in six fathoms. Macao bore west-north-west, 4 deg. west, two and a half leagues off. The current ran south from eight A.M. to two P.M., at the rate of two-thirds of a league an hour. About noon a junk left the port to attend us to the mouth of the Canton river. Father Bouvet refused the attendance of more of the junks.

At two P.M., the ebb much slackening, and the wind having freshened to south-east, we weighed anchor, and scudded as close to the wind as possible to skirt Lantao, a remarkable range of three high hills, at a great distance. We anchored at half-past seven P.M. in thirteen fathoms, mud bottom. The centre of Lantao bore east-south-east, 5 degrees east, two and a half leagues off. The island of Linten bore north quarter north-east, two leagues off. The flood tide lasted till half-past two towards Macao. The land is level all around for two, three, and four leagues seaward from the mouth of the Tiger.

The same day, in pursuance of the deliberation held on the 28th of the preceding month by M. de la Roque, M. Geraldin, M. Benac, and Father Bouvet, M. de Benac demanded a full council to confirm the former deliberation, empowering Father Bouvet to arrange the presents as well as the cargo generally, with the distribution of it, for Pekin. The other directors refused to sign the papers, because they were not present at the first council. M. de Benac then saw that he had committed him-

self, and would gladly have receded. It was too late. Father Bouvet, who had anticipated some of this difficulty, took care to be absent on a journey to Quanghae for pilots, in order to press on to Canton from that place, and to settle everything irrevocably.

The 29th, at five A.M., we set sail with a north-north-east wind; soundings fell from thirteen to nine fathoms, for we had stretched too far westward. We made only one league a-head way, and then anchored at eight A.M. in five fathoms, with a mud bottom.

We got under sail again at two P.M. The wind shifted to south-south-east and south-west. We skirted Lintin a league off shore to the westward, with ten to fifteen fathoms in a mud bottom. Our Chinese pilots wished to have steered east of Lintin if the wind had kept north. We anchored at night in six and a half fathoms, in a fine sandy bottom. Lintin bore south-south-east, two leagues off, and the mouth of the Tiger river bore north-north-west, six leagues off. We here saw white porpoises. The tides ran north-north-east and south-south-west.

The 30th, at six A.M., we weighed anchor with the wind north-north-east. We stretched away in five, six, seven, and eight fathoms, westward, to nineteen feet of water only. That side is not safe, and to be avoided as much as possible. At ten we anchored in eight fathoms, with a mud bottom. Lintin bore south $\frac{1}{4}$ south east, three and a half leagues off. The mouth of the Tiger bore north-north-west, 3 deg. west, four and a half leagues off.

At five P.M. we set sail again at flood tide, the wind north and north-north-east, making one and a half leagues head-way. We then anchored again at eight P.M. and seven fathoms, in a mud bottom. The mouth of the river Tiber bore north-west quarter north, three leagues off.

The 31st we set sail at six A.M., with a fair north-east wind; we tacked, and towards nine entered the Tiger. Our junk, which had gone a-head, here rejoined us, and saluted us with three falconet shots. We answered with three guns. We passed some small rocks at star-board on entering the rivers. Beyond these we passed within pistol-shot of a long range of

stakes, on which the fishermen hung their nets. The soundings were eight to ten fathoms. At ten we anchored in eleven fathoms, half a league from land. We then moored south-east and north-west, on account of the very rapid current. On both banks here, two deep inlets are covered with villages, pagodas, and tombs, forming a very pleasing view. In face of us, on the two sides of the narrow channel of the Tiger, are two forts, a quarter of a league from each other, which defend the entrance of the river.

As soon as we had anchored, the mandarins of the forts and of the junk came to pay their respects to Father Bouvet. Among the numerous visitors on that occasion, was the chief of the customs, and he abruptly presented to Father Bouvet his commission to board every foreign ship passing. The good Father, who had no notice of the steps, and who had been promised by the hoppo that it should not happen, was much surprised at his man's want of consideration. He asked him if he knew to whom he was speaking. The Chinese officer replied firmly that he did; whereupon Father Bouvet ordered him to be sent to his boat,

telling him to learn better manners. He was very near being caned.

M. de la Roque gave orders that in future no one should be admitted on board his ship without an authority; and since Father Bouvet complained that at Macao ill-intentioned people declared the Amphitrite belonged to private owners, the captain caused a further notice to be given that she belonged to the King of France, and that whoever presumed to say the contrary, should be punished as for an act of resistance to his Majesty's commands. The directors of the Company gave their assent in writing, this notice being issued.

Father Bouvet sailed at six that night, in a small junk, for Canton. He took with him Father de Brossia, and M. Ghirardini, the Italian painter.

The 1st of November, at daybreak, we buried a seaman who died of apoplexy. At seven, with the flood tide and a north-north-east wind, we weighed anchor and scudded along the coast to starboard down to five fathoms. When we got between the two forts, we were compelled to stem the tide, as it was rapid and the channel

narrow. There was fifteen to twenty fathoms of water. We then skirted Tiger Island within pistol-shot, in ten to twelve fathoms.

M. Basses came on board near this island. He was a French missionary to Siam, who had gone out with M. de Chaumont, the King's Ambassador, in 1688. He came away at the revolution in Siam, and stayed in Canton, where he now directs two churches.

From the north of Tiger Island to the mouth of the river the channel is extremely narrow. The bottom is nearly level all across, and at some places at low tide it is bare of water. We made short tacks in four to eight fathoms, and anchored at one P.M. in eight fathoms, with a bottom of grey sand. The Tiger pass bore south-south-east, two and a half leagues off. Brulé Island bore east-north-east, three deg. north, a league off; a lofty tower, which is on the western point of the entrance to the river, bore north-north-west, four deg. west, three and a half leagues off.

The 2nd, at half-past seven A.M., we weighed anchor with the floodtide and a north-east wind. We stood up the channel in four, six, seven fa-

thoms. We tacked five or six times in an hour, because the channel narrowed as we made headway. The tower still bore north-west, 5 deg. north, a league off. The headland stood east to east-north-east, 5 deg. north, at about the same distance. We had only eighteen feet water at about one-third of the flood tide. The depth gradually increased, and our tacks were longer.

The river is a full league over, down to its mouth. The eastern bank is steep ; the bottom level, and with sunk rocks. The other side, up to Canton, is extremely low, full of canals, and covered with rice. Two or three leagues from both banks there are lofty hills, for the most part well wooded.

A league and a half up, to starboard, there is a considerable river for boats to Fokien, six days' voyage in the interior. Passing the mouth of this river, we stood on by the east bank of the Tiger to a bar of sand a league and a half higher up, with seventeen feet of water. Here we left a little, flat island to larboard, covered with rice. At low tide, there is only nine or ten feet of water on this bar. We then skirted a large island to larboard, and moored a league

off in seven fathoms, for the flood tide anchor, and in five for the ebb, with a bottom of slimy sand. Here we were four leagues off the mouth of the Tiger, and three long leagues from Canton. With the advantage of high tides a ship can go higher; but the Chinese do not allow it.

An English ship was moored half a quarter of a league above us. She saluted us with five guns, which we returned and received one back. She had left London the 18th of March, and had reached Batavia in four months without putting into any port. She was here two months after, being nearly wrecked in the Straits of Banca, since no one on board had been there before. She was a ship of two hundred tons burthen, the cargo was fifty thousand dollars in coin, woollens, watches, some looking-glasses, beads, and glass.

There were three other English ships at Emoüy, and a fourth, also English, from Bombay, was lost, two months before. It was wrecked on the coast of Formosa. Father Avril, a French Jesuit, and the chief supra cargo, were drowned on that occasion by rash attempts to save themselves.

The river where we are is not a gun-shot over. At low tide it is sweet. At high tide it is brackish above Canton, even when the rain falls, which it commonly does within an interval of three weeks, all the year round. On one bank there is an extensive plain of rice; on the other, high hills cultivated to their very tops. In all directions it is the finest country in the world. The mountains are dug out in terraces, like amphitheatres, and levelled to receive the rain regularly. The soil is fertile, and bears three crops a year.

A quarter of a league from the anchorage there is a populous village, called Hoang-poa, with a custom house for sloops and other small craft, going to and coming from Canton. Signor Ghirardini's narrative of the passage of the Amphitrite up to Canton river is as follows:—

"From Macao we reached Canton without any difficulty. Our good ship had never behaved better than she did as we tacked up the river. You would have thought the frigate took a pride in showing off her best qualities, to the credit of France, in presence of the most polished and proudest people on earth—these Chinese.

Their country seemed to be eager to display, too, a world of beauties to us strangers. Achen and Malacca are barbarous in comparison with this portal of Canton. Here all is various in its kind, well disposed, and gay as well as novel. Boundless meads of an exquisite verdure; deep shades, gentle heights, formed in so many amphitheatres, ascended by a series of terraces artistically arranged. Lofty rocks covered with coloured mosses are delightfully contrasted with the other objects of the landscape. Villages peep beneath the green trees;—canals in all directions between the numerous islets, and stretching far into the interior, open lively and natural scenes. And these canals with the river, are crowded with little boats, dispersing themselves everywhere, and enlivening the picture which they complete. You are tempted to suppose these boats are sailing over the plains which the canals traverse. For my part, satisfied I was got into fairy land, I looked upon every thing about me as the effect of enchantment,—the boats, the waters, the plains, the valleys, the groves, and all. Nor was I in error at bottom. If the whole of China is like the

scene before me, it may be truly designated 'the land of charms.'"

XII.

CANTON RIVER AND CANTON.

FROM THE 3RD OF NOV. 1698, TO THE 15TH SEP. 1699.

THE 3rd we had no news from Canton.

The 4th, Father Bouvet came down in a large boat, in which he had all his apparatus as a mandarin. Before setting out, he had asked the viceroy to send us an agent to select a house for our provisions, sails, and sick. The viceroy replied that, as the Father was taking the trouble to go down himself, his word would be obeyed in all things: special orders were not necessary.

The 5th, Father Bouvet and M. de la Roque accordingly found a house in the village of Cang-leng-tchuen which they thought best suited for us: it was south of our anchorage a quarter of a league inland. They then hired a sort of temple or pagoda, which the head man of the

place let at four taels per month. We sent our sick thither the same day: they were eight in number, mostly with dysentery.

Then, as Father Bouvet was come down to give a proper air to every thing, he, in concert with M. de la Roque, issued orders to all who should go ashore, that they might conduct themselves decorously towards the Chinese. It was expressly forbidden them to look hard at the women they should meet.

That afternoon all our reverend Fathers went up to Canton with Father Bouvet. They were habited, and their heads were shaven like the Chinese. M. Basses went with them. He had not left us since he came on board at Tiger Island. We saluted them with seven guns; the Englishman did the same with five; and Hoangpou with three.

The 6th and 7th we stripped the ship of her sails and rigging. We also began to build an oven ashore to bake fresh bread for the crew, and biscuit for our voyage home.

The 7th, Father Bouvet sent two boats to the ship; but as they passed, the custom house put a guard on board each of them, so that

they could take nothing, but returned empty. Next day two more came down with an order from the hoppo, and took on board part of the articles destined for Pekin.

The 10th, another boat came down for the remainder of the packages belonging to Father Bouvet, for the presents to the Isontea, the viceroy, and the mandarins of the custom house.

Having waited till the 16th, without learning what the hoppo had settled about the merchandize meant to be sold at Canton, M. de la Roque consulted his pilots to ascertain what would be the latest day for sailing in that monsoon for Europe. The English pilot, whom we took at Malacca, said that if we intended to go by the Straits of Sunda, we must set sail at the end of January, or the beginning of February at latest. In February and March the currents run east, and there is much calm. If we intended to go by Borneo and skirt Timor, we might stay till the beginning of April, and we should be in time to get round the Cape of Good Hope. We followed the opinion of the English pilot, as none of the officers nor other

pilots would take charge of the ship as things stood. Our own pilot was left at Macao.

M. de la Roque then wrote to the directors to be prepared for his sailing in February, if they meant him to do so. He had bound himself to act upon their decision, and this course guarded him against all results.

The 17th, Father Bouvet visited the Tsontou, with the company's presents to him. The mandarin, in return, sent a vessel of gold, and two vessels for perfumes, also of gold, very light; a large copper vase worked in mosaic, fifteen cups, poles, and statuettes of a deep red stone much prized in China; two small cups of a white composition to imitate agates, four basins, and two large vases of old china, ten pieces of silk, and several folios of Chinese paintings on white satin.

The directors of the company also made presents to Leangtao, a mandarin of literature, one of the chiefs of the province, and a great friend of Father Bouvet. With regard to the viceroy and the mandarins of the customs, they refused to accept any presents till they should have learned how the arrival of Father Bouvet was

taken at court, and how the Emperor would treat the ship, whether like one bringing tribute, or like a merchant ship. Father Bouvet always insisted she was a ship of war, with which the king honoured him upon his return to China. It was in recognition of this character the viceroy granted M. de la Roque a congcouen, and treated him as a French mandarin of war.

The 22nd, four of our seamen deserted. They were Dutch, who had entered the ship at the Cape of Good Hope. Father Bouvet applied to the viceroy to have them apprehended; whereupon orders were issued to search for them in all quarters. Much trouble was taken by the Chinese in this matter; and next day the men were compelled to come in of themselves. None of the inhabitants durst harbour them.

The 1st of December, one of our seamen was seized for selling to the Chinese etuis silver-handled knives and other trifling articles missed from a bale some months before, of the value of four or five hundred livres. He was punished in irons for a few days. Upon his repeating his depredations, he was more severely ironed hand and foot. He was a regular professional

thief, and admitted that he deserved hanging. At length he contrived to escape, and we could never recover him.

The 3rd, the anniversary of St. Francis Xavier, the reverend Jesuit Fathers had a festival in their mission houses. There was also a solemn fête on board the Amphitrite. Most of the crew discharged the vow made on the coast of Sumatra, and every one contributed to the monument engaged to be erected upon the saint's tomb. Brother Belleville constructed the model of a pyramid and altar for a mausoleum. The whole was to be marble, or some hard stone. The work would have been a noble one; but it was not executed, because Father Turcolti, an Italian Jesuit, had a plan for building a church on the same spot.

A small vessel, shortly after this, brought news from Manilla to Macao, that a Portuguese ship of twenty guns had been taken within ten leagues of the Spanish port, with one hundred and fifty thousand dollars on board. Half the crew had gone ashore, and the captors, in an armed sloop with only twenty-three men, carried the ship off. This intelligence caused

the deepest alarm at Macao, where they could hardly ever recover from the loss of so much money.

The 9th, M. de Benac visited the mandarins of the customs, as Father Bouvet had arranged. He declared to them his desire to conform to all the laws of China; and excused himself for not calling on them sooner, casting the blame upon the interpreters, who had not been understood. He made a general declaring of the goods he wished to land and sell in Canton. He concluded by laying before them a list of the presents intended for themselves. The mandarins thanked him for his politeness, and accepted his presents; they said, as curiosities from a "foreign country." These presents were brought to them the same day. The director meant his visit to be simply an expression of personal consideration; but the mandarins have no idea of lowering their dignity with merchants, and received M. de Benac in great ceremony in their council hall, seated. This made him excessively angry with Father Bouvet, who had promised him that things should be managed quite otherwise.

The 11th, M. de Benac engaged two interpreters at two per cent. commission upon all goods bought or sold through them. These men are entirely submitted to the Hoppo; but they are indispensable to the merchants. In China, knowledge of the language is not all that is wanted in an interpreter. He must be adroit, active, crafty, and somewhat a rogue. He is answerable for all that the foreigner does wrong; and if he fail to inform the custom house of the least matter, he gets fifty blows with bamboo upon his bare back, hard enough sometimes to kill a man.

The 12th, M. Francia, in his character of chief merchant of the company, delivered in the customs tribunal a detailed declaration in Chinese of all the goods to be landed. When he entered, the Hoppos did not rise, and only pointed at a seat for him. This declaration was headed by a cheou poen, or black paper, which must be sent to the customs tribunal. It was a paper of submission, a formality imposed upon merchants. The Englishman had given one in. We were told, however, that we might have got

rid of it; and that several other Englishmen had never agreed to it.

M. Francia was also obliged to take a Chinese name to sign with. Father Bouvet gave him one somewhat corresponding in pronunciation with Francia.

The Directors of the Company did not sign anything. Father Bouvet would not have them sign in the character of directors, but as merchants. This they refused to do.

The 15th, when the chop was despatched, M. Francia came on board, to hasten the unloading of the goods. He had four Customs' boats to guard him at night. The work went on without interruption, and next day all the goods were deposited in the Company's warehouse in Canton. The Customs' officers marked all the bales, and sealed the doors of the warehouse in which they were deposited.

The 17th, at ten, the two mandarins of the Customs went with all their train to the Company's house. They wished to be present themselves at the opening of the first bale. Tables and chairs were set for them. Their clerks had

also their tables to note everything. When all were stationed, the interpreters prostrated themselves before the mandarins, as the custom is. They then began opening the cases. The first contained pictures and portraits of great men then living at the court of France, which they inspected a long time. They then saw some cases of glass, of which they noted the number, the description, and the size with extraordinary exactness. At two P.M. the mandarins went away in chairs. M. de Benac had prepared a grand Chinese dinner for them; but they excused themselves, saying they must be first to offer hospitality. In fact, they were in the habit of treating the English insolently, but did not attempt it with our directors, as they saw it would be in vain. The clerks remained till night, inspecting other cases of glass and bales of cloth. They came next day to complete their work. They measured the cloth, and counted the glass, article by article, as was done the day before.

The 22nd, M. Poullesel went to Macao to buy a vessel which M. de Benac wished to send

home. They had advanced four hundred taels on this account, but lost the money by the failure of the contract.

The 30th, the brandy was lodged from on board in the warehouses of the Company.

The 6th of January, 1669, the Hoppo went to Macao to take the duties from the Manilla ships, — Chinese, Portuguese, American, and English. The last go from Madras to Manilla under the Portuguese flags, and come afterwards to Macao before returning to the coast of Coromandel to exchange their silver for gold.

The 7th of September the remainder of the goods declared at the Custom House was delivered to the Company's warehouse, and on the 9th the bales and cases were opened formally as before.

The goods from Pekin were still in the Chinese boats by the shore, because Father Bouvet would not allow them to be sent to the Company's warehouse, but to a house taken for the emperor. On the other hand, M. de Benac would not consent to these goods being at the command of Father Bouvet; so between them, all was at the mercy of the weather.

The 18th, the hoppo returned from Macao.

On the 19th, the first news came from Pekin, signifying that the emperor would not return till the 15th of December, and that eight days afterwards a despatch would certainly be sent off. In the meantime, both the emperor and heir apparent were reported to be well pleased with the arrival of Father Bouvet.

XIII.

CANTON AND THE RIVER TIGER.

FROM THE 19TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1691, TO THE 6TH OF JANUARY, 1700.

THE 20th, the Hoppo gave us a chop, fully authorizing the merchants of Canton to trade with the French, which they durst not do before: — indeed, two merchants had been imprisoned in irons for merely bringing two pieces of silk to M. de Benac. The people, thinking us laden with silver, brought so large a quantity

of goods from all quarters, that we could easily have completed a cargo in fifteen days. But this did not last, and this chop was stayed by fresh intelligence from Pekin.

The 25th, at midday, a courier arrived, preceding three envoys from the court, who reached Canton at night. The chief of these envoys was a Tartar officer of the emperor's palace. The other two were Father Visdelou, and Father Suarez, a Portuguese. They were thirty days on the road from Pekin, the exact time fixed for them.

The 26th, at daybreak, the mandarins of all ranks in Canton went to Tiensse-Mateou, to receive the envoy in great state, and then to take them to the Congcouen prepared for them.

The 27th, the directors visited Father Visdelou upon the Company's business. He told them the emperor had remitted the duty, and granted them an establishment, with leave to buy a house in the town of Canton. The emperor had also accepted the presents offered him; but as he could not receive them ostensibly, he sent secret orders to the mandarins to take

them in their own names. As to the bales sent to Pekin with the prices at fifty per cent. advance, they had not thought fit to buy those bales before the emperor. They considered it improper to set such articles at so low a price; so we could hardly be said to have advanced an object beyond our first day's arrival.

The 29th, the directors presented six hundred taels to the hoppo, on account of Custom dues to him on the goods at Canton. They did this without consulting Father Bouvet, and might well have saved the Company that sum, the hoppo having already received three hundred taels in merchandize.

The 4th of February, a general discharge was given in the Company's house for all the articles to be sent to Pekin. The Customs' officers did not set their seals to anything, nor touch anything; but they had men posted to watch that nothing should be taken away, and hoping to get some advantage from this part of the cargo as they had done from the rest.

The 5th, M. de la Roque, with Father Bouvet, and four of his officers, went to the palace of the viceroy to return thanks for the goodness

of the emperor in remitting the duties. They both expressed their sense of the obligations conferred upon them, and M. de la Roque also thanked the viceroy for having so graciously given them the mansion he occupied in the town.

This visit was conducted in great form. M. de Benac had claimed the privilege of heading it as chief of the Company, and exclusively representing it wherever it was absent. He complained bitterly that the Fathers had deceived him, by promising not to deliver the presents; and demanded an apology. He pushed matters so far and so absurdly about the presents, that it was proposed to shut him up as insane, to prevent the scandal he seemed likely to commit. The Tartar envoy already murmured at the delay, his orders being not to stay long in Canton.

The difficulty was at length removed, by Father Bouvet requiring a full discharge of the director for all the articles delivered for Pekin.

The 12th, M. de la Roque, Father Bouvet, and some of the officers, supped with the Vice-

roy. They were magnificently entertained; and a comedy was acted to entertain them.

The 17th, a small Spanish vessel, of about eighty tons, ascended the river and anchored near the English ship. She had a hundred thousand crowns, in silver, on board.

The 21st, Father Visdelou visited the ship. M. de la Roque saluted him with nine guns.

The 22nd, the Viceroy accepted the presents he had before refused. He took only a mirror, a lustre, a pendule, and a gun, sending back other smaller articles.

The 25th, all the presents for the Emperor and the princes being embarked for Pekin, the envoys went to Tienssee Mateou, whither all the mandarins came as before to conduct them on their departure in great state. Bowing to the ground, which they struck with their heads, they besought them, on arriving in Pekin, to return intelligence of the Emperor's health. The envoys then went on board, and gave orders to set out.

Besides the four envoys, eight of the Jesuits we had brought from France accompanied them either for the court or for Nankin. They had

in all fifty-seven boats, including the mandarin boats, and a boat for luggage and their tables.

The 1st of March, the English ship moored above us, went down the river, and sailed for Batavia. M. de Sabrevois went home in her, and took despatches for M. de la Roque, with reports of all his proceedings, to the Court and the Company. M. de Benac gave his letters to the English captain. The Fathers also wrote by the same ship.

The 2nd, the directors began their inventory of all the effects of the Company.

The 9th, M. de Benac delivered to the hoppo a general declaration of all the presents intended for Pekin, in order that on no account there might be loss of customs. They pretended that the Emperor would require such an account, as they would be allowed an abatement upon their farm contract, proportioned to the value of these presents. This year they had to pay forty thousand taels (10,000 crowns) for their farm to the Emperor.

The 15th of April, we had a heavy gale, with rain and large hail. More than two hundred boats were lost this day upon the river.

The 22nd, one of our crew died.

The 26th, the Spaniard went down the river and sailed for Manilla. She saluted us with five swivels, which we returned with three guns, and she gave us back one.

The night of the 27th, some Chinese made a hole in the wall of our hospital, and carried off the men's muskets with the surgical instruments. M. de la Roque went up to Canton to demand justice of Leangtao. The mandarin was a warm friend of Father Bouvet, and had promised us his good offices in all difficulties. He accordingly set inquiries on foot, and sent an inferior mandarin to the spot. They arrested the suspected culprit, whom they took to Canton in chains. The matter was actively searched into; but the stolen articles were never got back.

Towards the end of this month, M. de Benac caused the mirrors, which were not in good order, to be carried back to the house, but in the company of M. Basses. The Company's third director went to reside in it with some workmen, and they began to perfect them next month. M. de Benac was much disposed to take a house within the walls of Canton, to be out of the jurisdiction of the Customs' mandarin;

but as the success of our affairs was still doubtful, he delayed this step.

The 8th of May, a ship anchored in the mouth of the river, which the Custom-house thought was French. They asserted that its flag was white, which induced us to send a boat down. She was an Arab, of twenty guns, about three hundred tons burthen, and two hundred men. She had sailed from Surat three years before. She had been taken and ransomed by English pirates. She was last from Manilla, the 19th of last month. She was laden with myrrh, henna, cassia, and sandal wood, with a large amount of silver money. She would not enter the river before learning what conditions the hoppo intended to impose. For that purpose the captain was gone to Canton.

The 11th, the Arab ship came up the river and anchored a little above us. She saluted us with five guns. We returned with three, and she replied with three more.

The 14th, the hoppo came down to measure the Arab. He was saluted upon going on board with three guns. M. de la Roque took occasion to pay him the same respect, and saluted him

with seven guns. The Chinese measure ships by cubits (condes), and then multiply the length by breadth. Their cubit is about thirteen inches, four lines French. The Arab had to pay eight thousand five hundred taels for her measurage, which would have been from twelve to fifteen thousand for us. And seeing that, besides this, the Custom-house officers impose duties upon a large amount of goods pretty much at their discretion, it may readily be concluded that China must not be visited without plenty of cash.

The 25th, a Dutch sailor, attached to the Company's warehouse, was drowned.

The 26th, we received the first news of the arrival of our envoys at the court. They joined the Emperor seventeen leagues from Nankin, in the city of Yanglehou, where Father Bouvet offered to him the presents sent by the king and those sent by the company. The Emperor himself had them displayed in large halls before the princes and mandarins of the court. He much admired them, and caused them to be taken to Pekin under the care of the Tartar envoy, Father Visdelou and Father Suarez. At the same time he ordered Father Bouvet and

the other five Jesuits summoned to the court, to follow him. He was then visiting the provinces of Nankin and Tchekiang for the first time. It was long rumoured that he would visit Canton.

The 10th of June, another of our men died.

The merchant of the Tsoutou now negotiated for the purchase of all the mirrors. The Leangtao also took some goods. But the business advanced very slowly; and the Chinese seemed to be aiming at tiring the directors out, only at last to get the goods for nothing, when the new monsoon should urge the sailing of the ship.

The 27th, the Arab ship was laid on her side in a creek, to careen. The Custom-house had their revenge upon her for the small profit made by us. They made her pay fifty taels for leave to be laid down, and fifty more for leave to set up a tent ashore, without reckoning a thousand other exactions.

The 5th of July, another of our men died.

The 17th, we were informed that another frigate was arrived at Macao from Goa, with a new general. She paid the golden loaf at Malacca.

The 19th, one of the Company's artisans at Canton died suddenly.

The 24th, new hoppos arrived from Pekin. They were to enter on their duty on the 10th of the next month. In the meantime they were busy learning the state of everything.

The 25th, another of our men died; and on the 4th of August another.

The same day, the 4th of August, we weighed our anchors and moored again with new cables, to guard against the equinoctial gales. We backed the cable eastward with a kedge anchor, because the wind that side is the more to be feared.

The 6th, another of our men died.

The 10th, at full moon by Chinese reckoning, the new hoppos opened their offices. The old hoppos, after paying their balances to Poustching-Slee, treasurer-general of the province, went to Pekin to pass their accounts.

M. Francia went to the tribunal of the new hoppos to pay his respects, and ask their countenance in favour of the French. The directors did not condescend to go themselves — they thought it would be degrading; but I cannot

conceive how they will escape embarrassment when another ship arrives. They must unquestionably pay the full duty, and then, out of necessity, be more manageable. The Chinese mandarins will not be trifled with; sooner or later, they make people pay for any insolence. There was an example of that at Emouy in the case of a son, or nephew of an English governor of Bombay. The mandarins of Emouy caused him to have fifty blows on his back, in spite of great offers of money and great entreaties.

The 24th, we celebrated the king's birth-day by fifteen discharges of guns, and three of musketry, with an illumination of all the masts and yards.

The 27th, we received letters from Pekin, signifying that the Emperor had resolved to send an envoy to France with presents to the king, and ordered Father de Fontenay to return in the ship. He had signified his will that we should sail with the commencement of the monsoon; and for that purpose he would order the Tsoutou to discharge us soon. Father Visdelou is also to come to Canton to hasten everything. The presents were to leave Pekin by the end of

July, and it was hoped would arrive by the end of September.

The 2nd of September, a Swiss sailor in the company's service died; and on the 6th we lost another.

The 9th, we heard of a ship of the new English East India Company being come to Macao. From the 13th, the prevailing winds were east to north-north-west, fair and strong, with fine weather. The monsoon seemed disposed to change; indeed, from that time the wind generally stood north. We had no hurricane, and it seemed to pass off in July and August in rains and storms.

The hoppo went to Macao expressly to prevail upon the English ship to come up the river. He apprehended she might escape him and go to Emouy, where four were taking in cargoes already.

The 10th of October, our writer died, after eight months' illness and great vexations. The directors caused him much anxiety for no just reasons. This was their way with us all.

The 11th, the directors sent eight Chinese

carpenters on board with lead and planks to begin to repair the ship.

The same day, Father de Fonteney and Father Visdelou arrived in Canton. They were received magnificently, and both had followings grander than any of the others. We had long been in extreme suspense on their account. Matters were so wretched that they alone could set them a little right.

The Tsontou and Leangtao both were our debtors; but no money could be got. When all should have been well settled, there occurred more difficulty than ever. M. de Benac positively refused two artisans demanded by Father de Fontaney for the Emperor's service. He even carried his insanity so far as to send a formal written declaration to Father de Fontaney, charging him with being the cause of insults which the Chinese might use to him. At the same time, he requested Father de Fontaney not to interfere with the company's affairs.

The night of the 11th, the English ship from Madras anchored half a league between us. Six missionaries were passengers in her, four

French, of whom Father Beauvoli was one, an Italian, and a German.

The 12th, M. de la Roque went on board the English ship for Father Beauvoli. The captain saluted them with seven guns. At midday the English ship passed us and anchored above us. She saluted us in passing with seven guns, which we returned, and she replied with one. This ship was of two hundred tons burthen, with twelve guns. She was loaded with drugs for dyeing, and had one hundred thousand crowns in silver.

The 17th, the new English Company's ship, which was at Macao in the beginning of September, came up the river. She passed with a grand display, and with the royal standard flying. The Madras ship and the Arab saluted her, the former with seven guns, the latter with three. She returned gun for gun. The supercargo of this ship had made all arrangements with the Hoppo at Macao, and asserted she should sail as soon as ourselves. She had four hundred thousand livres in silver and fur goods.

The 10th of November, another of our men died.

The same night a Chinese junk came up the river from Manilla, with several on board, and chiefly freighted on their account.

The 20th, we lost another man.

The 27th, Chinese junks began to fall down the river for Batavia. Most of them sailed under the Dutch flag, being laden upon Dutch account. *Holland thus trades with all China by means of the Chinese themselves.* They thus obtain everything of the finest quality and of the rarest kinds. They do this at a cheap rate, and without exposure to the exactions which foreign merchants suffer every day in the ports of this empire. Moreover, they thus escape all hazard of losing the money they advance to the Chinese for goods, inasmuch as these Chinese give them security for such advances by drawing upon other Chinese settlers in Batavia and Bantam.

The 1st of December, M. de Benac began to send us boats to water with. We took it in at five leagues above Canton, for no rain having fallen for some time, the river was salt where we were moored.

The 7th, at four A.M., the Arab ship went

down the river. She saluted us with four guns, which we returned, and received back three. The captain would gladly have sailed in company with us, but the season was advancing.

The 12th, we began at length to move.

The 21st, Father de Fontaney came to see the ship. He had a mandarin boat with all his suite in boats with his baggage. We received him with much respect, and next day, at his return, M. de la Roque saluted him with nine guns.

The 24th, the Tsontou paid M. de Benac his balance of five thousand taels, and caused him at the same time to be informed that the emperor desired the French ship to sail without delay. He therefore had only to settle his affairs so as to be able to go down the river the fifteenth of the following moon. If the mandarins or any private merchants owed anything, the Tsontou promised to have it paid; and observed, that seeing the English could usually manage their trade in three months, it was surprisng M. de Benac should have taken fourteen for his.

The 20th, Father Fontaney took leave of the Tsontou, thanking him for his kindness to the

French and to himself, and soliciting the like protection for those who were to remain in Canton.

The 31st, we loaded four boats with goods. The directors used every effort to make their purchases. Silks far dearer every day, as lately there had arrived at Macao a Spanish ship of fifty guns, with five hundred thousand dollars to lay out.

M. de Benac, in return for his delays and hesitation, had now to take from the Leangtao fifty tons of copper instead of money. It stood him in five taels the pieal, or Chinese quintal, and he might have had it or part for three and a half.

The 6th of January, we were still loading some boats with goods.

The 7th, we weighed anchor, and moored again half a league below, near a battery, where we had nine fathoms of water, with a hard sand bottom, close to the shore. M. de la Roque took this first step to show the mandarins that he was ready to sail. This day we brought our sick on board, with everything we had taken, to the village of Cangtengtehuen.

The 8th, we sailed across the river, to be ready to pass a bar on our way at high tide. The wind was fair but light. At night we anchored in six fathoms, in a muddy bottom, between another old battery and a Custom House. M. de la Roque wished to pass the bar next day, but did not do so, because we began to reach still water, and the directors did not keep their promise of sending country boats to tow us.

The 14th, another man died, but only one dangerously ill.

The 17th, Father Fontaney came on board with all his baggage and the presents for the king. Next day, early, he sent the mandarin boat back, keeping, of his Chinese servants only a fiangcong, a sort of secretary, who was curious to see France.

The 20th, we passed the bar, with a light south wind. There was at least nineteen feet of water upon it. The bar stretches from a little island in mid-stream to the head of another large island, east of the smaller one. You skirt the large island a third of the river, keeping steadily to the south-east quarter south, to

soundings at five to seven fathoms. We anchored above a league below the bar, at eight fathoms, with mud bottom. The fort at the mouth of the river bore south 5 deg. east.

The same night six boats from Canton brought the remainder of the goods, and we now only wanted our biscuits, and M. Francia, who was to go home with us.

The 23rd, at ebb tide and a light north wind, we weighed anchor, and passed the Fokien river, and anchored east of the lower head of the last bar, in six fathoms, with a muddy bottom. The higher fort bore south-west.

The 24th, we passed the last bar, and anchored a league and a half beyond the fort, bearing north-west 5 deg. north, in six fathoms, and still a mud bottom.

The 25th, we got our biscuits, but M. Francia could not come on board to-day, because the Hoppo entertained him. He came next day at two P.M. He brought the directors' last despatches, and all other articles he had expected; so we weighed anchor and sailed with a fair north wind, with which we could stem the tide.

In China we left the three directors of the

Company, M. Salioz, two clerks, and six other Frenchmen, of whom two had set out for Pekin a month ago.

XIV.

FROM CANTON RIVER TO THE COAST OF CAMBODIM.

FROM THE 27TH OF JANUARY TO THE 3RD OF FEBRUARY, 1700.

THE 26th, P.M., we anchored a league out of the Tiger, in seven fathoms, with a bottom of muddy sand.

The 27th, at daybreak, it was dark and cloudy, but we sailed with a north wind. Towards eleven A.M., a gale came on, and we were obliged to anchor between Linten and Macao, as our Chinese pilots were afraid to stand on.

The weather clearing a little, we set sail again an hour later. We neared Macao by skirting the Nine Islands, and anchored in five fathoms with a mud bottom. The town bore 5 deg. north, two leagues off.

The 28th, the north wind still blew strong; and as there was no appearance of our being able to send a boat to Macao without losing much time, we weighed anchor. After our cutter had put the two Chinese pilots ashore upon the Island of Matchong, we stood out to sea. M. de la Roque wished much to pay his respects personally to the mandarin of Macao, to thank him for his extreme kindness, and for his good offices to the French.

We steered south until three P.M., when the Great Ladrone bore north-north-east, ten leagues off. We then changed our course to south-west quarter south to sight Hainan, and stand over afterwards to the landward of Pracel. The old English pilot, whom we had taken in at Malacca, had charge of the ship himself alone, and was to go back to France with us.

The 29th, at noon, the wind having been fair and strong at north and north-north-east, with a cloudy sky and heavy sea, we calculated our latitude at 19 deg. 40 min. north. We had made forty-six leagues way south-west quarter south. We then stood to south-west

quarter west, abreast of the Island of Hainan, and at least fixed it by the soundings.

The same day, the 29th, towards six P.M., after making fifteen leagues to the sout-hwest quarter west, we were in seventy fathoms, with mud and fine sand bottom. At two P.M., having made two leagues more in the same course, we were in forty fathoms, and a bottom of coarse sand and shells. This led us to steer south-south-west, for fear of being too near inshore. At four, after making nine leagues south-south-west, we were in forty-four fathoms, with a bottom of mud, gravel, and shells.

The 30th, at half-past six A.M., we saw the island of Hainan north-east half north, seven leagues off. Rather a lofty cape and three little islands to the westward of it, at some distance from each other, were seen. We then steered south west, to sight Pulo Condore, upon the coast of Cochin China, and hitherto we had perceived no current.

For seventeen leagues we steered south-west till noon, and had made in all sixty leagues south-west, 3 deg. west. By reckoning, we were in lat. 17 deg. north. The wind con-

tinued fair, north-north-east and north-north-west, with a cloudy sky, and a short sea.

The same wind, but lighter, lasted till the 31st, when, after sounding often, to regulate our course, we found sixty-five fathoms, at six P.M. We steered south quarter south-west. At midnight, we had seventy-five fathoms in sand or shells. We veered south-west to avoid the Pracel. At four in the morning we had sixty-five fathoms head, and fine sand. We had made thirty-four leagues way, south-south-west, 5 degrees west; and were now by reckoning in lat. 16 deg. 9 min. north.

This day, at one P.M., we saw Pulo Champella bearing to west-north-west, ten leagues off; and Pulo Condore, bearing south-south-west, eight leagues off. The main land is here extremely lofty. Mountains are visible twenty-six leagues inland. Hereabouts is the boundary between the kingdom of Cochin China and Tsiompa. The latter is tributary to Cochin China.

We coasted Pulo Condore to the east, two leagues off shore; and then steered south and south-south-west, in order to see the main land,

which we were to sail by for eighty leagues, a league and a-half, or, at the most, two leagues off shore, in order to avoid currents, which, out at sea, run upon Pracel. This danger could not possibly be avoided if it fell calm; nor could it be recovered from, as there are no soundings or anchorage. At six P.M., Pulo Condore bore north-west quarter north, four leagues off. We had a fair strong north wind all night. We stood in shore about two leagues off. It is flat by the sea, but lofty inland.

The 1st of February, at four A M., we skirted very near a small island, opposite the Bay of Yogoyna; but this island is much further out at sea than it stands on the charts. This led us for some time to take it for Pulo Cambo of the land. This we were the more disposed to think, as the English pilot asserted that the currents here ran at least half a league an hour to the south-east. This, however, proved an error. They gave, indeed, four leagues in twenty-four hours, but that was the utmost. In fact, the currents are regular all the year in these latitudes. From September to March they always run south and south-east; and from March

to September they always run north and north-west, just as the coast bends.

At above six leagues from this island, south-south east, we skirted two large and lofty rocks a league off the land. They are not upon the charts.

Towards nine A.M., we saw Pulo Cambir of the land, six leagues south of the two, with rocks. It is three-quarters of a league off the coast, in lat. 13 deg. 38 min. Towards the sea it is steep and moderately lofty. To the south east of it, there are two rocks. Seen north-north-west, it looks like two islands. Pulo Cambir of the sea is also moderately lofty. It is seen in clear weather, and by standing out a little towards it. It is directly on a line with the Pracel.

In these latitudes we saw many sailing vessels along the coast, where the people are great robbers, if an opportunity occurs. They have often plundered merchant ships in calms.

This afternoon we doubled Cape Varela. It is a huge hill, standing alone close to the water, upon a level shore, with this cape bearing south-west quarter west. A hill like an islet is seen

bearing 3 deg. west quarter south. A rock on this hill has all the appearance of a tower, or pyramid of some pagoda. Towards four P.M., we skirted another very steep cape, running far into the sea. The whole coast here is lofty, and frightful to look at. It rises perpendicular from the water. Here, too, we met with a lofty rock, like a tall chimney, slightly inclining. All night we steered south quarter south-west, two and a-half leagues off the land.

The 2nd, at day-break, we passed the false Cape Varela, where there was also a rock like a pyramid. We were here abreast of another cape, which our English pilot called Cape Cecir. He then made us steer south-south west to find the "Two Banks" strait of the charts. He said we must keep this course to eighteen or nineteen fathoms. When we sounded in fifteen fathoms it was a sign of being near the bank in shore; and when we sounded in twenty-four, we were to fall in with the outer bank. The wind was fresh and fair from north, and the sea was high. At nine A.M., Cape Cecir bore quarter north, and quarter north-west, five and a half leagues off. We were now quite out of sight of the mainland

of Cambodia, and from the masthead saw what looked like two little islands to the south-south-west, six leagues off. Upon nearing them they turned out to be two hills on a long low island, which we could not recognise in the charts. Our English pilot had not expected land ahead here. He was greatly surprised by this, and could not account for his error. In order to double this island, we were obliged to steer south-south east, and south-east quarter south, because the current carried us violently to the south-west. Happily, by our lat. being 10 deg. 20 min., we found ourselves clear of the danger which it indeed perplexed us to escape from. Some said that the land we thus doubled was not an island, but the extension of the mainland, between which and Cape Cecir there was a deep inlet. Others said, more probably, that these were islands at the tail of the Pracel, ill-placed on the charts. These insisted that the Dutch designedly marked dangers on these charts where none existed. We certainly saw none; nor could we perceive the water to be discoloured.

This island bearing north north west six leagues off, we saw south-west quarter south,

five leagues off, Pulo Cecir of the sea, which, seventeen months before, when sailing to China, we had sighted. We had now seen it on all sides; and left it to the east, it bearing at three P.M. five leagues off. The wind was still north and north-north-east, and the sea high. We steered west-south-west to sight Pulo Condor; and at midnight we were in twenty fathoms, with a fine grey sand bottom.

The 3rd, at six A.M., the soundings were twenty fathoms, with a bottom of large grey sand, and shells. At nine A.M. we saw Pulo Condor to south-west quarter west, eight leagues off. From Pulo Cecir we had made by reckoning forty-five leagues; so that these two islands are fifty-two leagues apart in the two directions east north east and west south west. This whole morning the currents carried us north west, and the wind was very light; all, therefore, we could do was to double the island. At six P.M. it was six leagues off. We scudded all the night following south south west 5 deg. west, to sight Pulo Condor.

XV.

THE COAST OF CAMBODIA TO BANCA AND BANTAM.

THE 3RD TO THE 26TH OF FEBRUARY, 1700.

THE 4th of February, in lat. 6 deg. 50 min. north, we had soundings in twenty-six fathoms, with fine sand and slime. We stood on south-south-west and south west quarter south until midnight; when in thirty-eight fathoms, in a mud bottom, we steered south quarter south-west.

The 5th, in lat. 8 deg. 18 min. north, we found thirty-nine fathoms, with a soft blue mud at bottom; we steered south-south-west. From six P.M., being in forty-two fathoms, we steered south west quarter south; and at midnight we were in forty-one fathoms, with still a mud bottom.

The 6th, at 6 A.M., with the same soundings of forty-two fathoms, and the same mud bottom, we steered south-west; and at ten A.M. west quarter south-west.

Our English pilot actually made us take these courses only to perplex us, and to prevent our acquiring a correct knowledge of the navigation of those seas. Heaven forbid we should ever want his help here. At noon we were by reckoning in 3 deg. 38 min. north lat., with 31 fathoms, and a fine sand and mud bottom.

At four P.M. we saw Pulo Timoan south quarter south-west, 5 deg. west, nine leagues off. The wind was very light, north-west. At night it fell a dead calm, the current drifting us gently south-south-west. At midnight we were within three leagues of land.

The 7th, at daybreak, we were two and a-half leagues east of the island.

Our Englishman, who wished to anchor on that side, made us take in canvas. He said we must pass between two sand banks running far out at sea, and sound at every step. He asserted, also, that there was a populous town by the sea side. The nearer, however, we drew, the fewer signs did we see of all that. M. de la Roque, who was exceedingly angry at this, on good grounds, stood out, and anchored near the south shore, in eighteen fathoms, in a bottom of grey and black

sand. The anchorage was a quarter of a league off, and the south-eastern head of the island bore north-east 5 deg. north, two-thirds of a league off—the south-west head bore north-west quarter west 8 deg. west, a league and one-third off. The latter head is remarkable for two very high peaks, called "the Ears of the Hare." At their foot is a stream, where we got wretched water.

As soon as we anchored, a dozen little boats came off. They exchanged cocoa nuts and plenty of fish for a few pieces of linen. We could get nothing more without sending round the south-west point.

The 8th and 9th, we had rain, and a gale from north-north-east.

Early on the 10th, we saw a ship west of Pulo Timoan, with all sail set, and running south. She was a Dutch ship from Siam, or perhaps the Madras ship which we had left at Canton ready to sail.

At one P.M. we sailed, our cable with the anchor apeak, and we lost it. The wind was north-north-east. We scudded close to the wind, to get east of Pulo Pisang and Pulo Laet.

Abreast of these islands we found strong currents, setting south towards the Straits of Malacca. At ten P.M. Pulo Laet bore south-west quarter west, about three leagues off.

The 11th, at six A.M., being in twenty-four fathoms, and, as we thought, too much at sea, we bore up and steered south. At noon, our latitude, by reckoning, 1 deg. 30 min. From Pulo Laet we were twenty leagues upon our course south quarter south-east. A little after midday we saw the ship again which we had seen yesterday, passing west of Pulo Tinsent. She was skirting the coast to go through the Straits of Malacca by the Dutch channel, for fear of pirates. Towards night we sighted the coast of Romania.

Towards eight P.M. we anchored in twenty-two fathoms, with a bottom of fine grey sand and clay. Our Englishmen would have stood on all night, but M. de la Roque would not consent.

The 12th, at eight A.M., we again set sail due south, after having much trouble to get the anchor up. By observation at noon we were 1 deg. north of the line. From one P M. we

saw land south-west quarter west, 5 deg. south all night. Towards three we saw ahead of us a Chinese junk steering for the Straits of Banca. As soon as she made us out, she ran before the wind to eastward. Shortly afterwards we picked up her cutter and small boat, sent adrift to lighten her and escape from us, thinking perhaps we were pirates.

Towards six P.M. we saw several little islands, about five leagues off, and the high lands of Lingin bearing west north-west. We steered south quarter south-west. At about eleven P.M. we had twelve to sixteen fathoms, with a bottom of fine grey sand. At midnight we saw land ahead. It was an island hidden before in fog. It was south quarter south-east, about a league and a half off. We steered east quarter south-east, to avoid this land, which we took for Pulo Poar.

The 13th, at daybreak, we were between a group of islands; seen, as the night came on, lay a long land with seven hills, which our Englishman called the Seven Islands. To the north-north-east we also saw, at the same time, a considerable island. All day the wind was

westerly and contrary, so that we were compelled to tack. Upon nearing this land we found it was Banca, and that which we had taken for Pulo Poar, near the Seven Islands. At ten A.M. we made out Monopim, a lofty hill at the northern head of Banca, and being upon a low plain, it looks at a distance like a separate island. In our tacks along the coast of Banca, we had from eighteen to twenty-five fathoms, and towards the Seven Islands the same day were fifteen to sixteen fathoms. Our latitude by observation was 1 deg. 15 min.

That night we anchored in twenty fathoms in fine sand, Monopim bearing south 5 deg. east, six leagues off. All night the wind was westerly. The currents were feeble and irregular.

We weighed anchor early on the 14th, with a west-south-west wind, and stretched north-north-west until two P.M., in twenty to twelve fathoms soundings. The wind shifting to west and north-north-west, we stood on the other tack south-west and south-south-west, in seven fathoms and a mud bottom. There we anchored. Our Englishman was unwilling to

stand on any longer until we could make out Sumatra, which the fog hid. We were about abreast of Palambang. Monopim bore south-south east 4 deg. east, seven leagues off. The wind was westerly all night, with heavy rain. The current set south-west-west. In the course of the day we saw at different spots in the channel three trees rooted up, and floating upright. At first sight we took them all three for boats in full sail.

We set sail the 18th, at six A.M. with a light west wind. We scudded south-south-west, in seven to eight fathoms. At eight A.M. we distinguished plainly the coasts of Sumatra to the south-west. They are very low, and in some places flooded, but nevertheless covered with wood. Towards eleven A.M. the wind fell to a dead calm, and the current being contrary, we anchored seven fathoms less by a foot, in a bottom of mud. Sumatra bore south-west, two and a half leagues off; Monopim bore south-east, five short leagues off. The tide ran east-north-east, at the rate of three quarters of a league an hour. Towards night the sea had sunk a fathom.

Here, two and a-half to three leagues off the coast of Banca, there is a sunk rock, upon which there are breakers in a rough sea. This rock is east-south-east of Monopim. There are other dangers upon the coast of Banca towards the south. It is proper, therefore, to hug the west of Sumatra.

The 16th, we weighed anchor early, with a light west wind. We skirted the coast in seven to eleven fathoms. We again saw a large tree floating in the channel upon its roots, like a vessel in full sail. At noon, by observation, we were in lat. 1 deg. 5 min. south. Monopim now bore east-north 5 deg. east, three and a half leagues off. A headland of Sumatra bore north-west 3 deg. west at the same distance. The mouth of a river bore south-west quarter south, and the other points of the coast round to the south side bore south-west quarter south. The wind shifted in the afternoon to north-north-west, and was high. We ran south-south-east at a league to a league and a half off shore, and anchored at night in nine fathoms, in a bottom of mud, two-thirds of a league off. Monopim bore north-north-west, 3 deg. north.

The 17th, we sailed at daybreak with a light land breeze. It changed from north to south, and then fell to a dead calm. The fog was thick, and as we made little way, we anchored at eleven A.M. in thirteen fathoms, in a bottom of red mud. The third headland of Sumatra bore south-east quarter south, a league off. The headland of Monopim bore south-east and north-west.

Towards two P.M., the wind freshening for north-west, we set sail again. The tide was served. We anchored two hours later, a quarter of a league off shore, in six fathoms, and a mud bottom. The third headland bore south 5 deg. east, half a league off, and we lay abreast of a little river with an exceedingly pretty entrance. Besides Monopius, other lofty mountains in Banca bore north-east half north, and others south-east. The tides seemed to run twelve hours flood and twelve ebb;—the flood to the south-east, the ebb to the north-west, was very slow.

The next morning, at six, the sea had risen a fathom and a half. We saw a fire on shore, although the country looked quite uninhabited.

We weighed anchor early the 18th, with a west-south-west wind. We skirted the headland a little out at sea, in seven and a half to five fathoms. Towards ten A.M. we doubled the second headland, still at a short league off the shore, in twelve to nine fathoms, until we got abreast of the first headland. The bottom was mud throughout. At about five P.M. we anchored in five and a half fathoms, still with a mud bottom. The wind was light and fresh, at north-north-west, and the tide still strong; but there was no daylight left to carry us quite through the dangerous strait of Lucepara. Our English pilot, therefore, would stay till morning. The first headland bore north-north-west, five deg west, two-thirds of a league off. The coast abreast of us was due west, at one third of a league. It trended south quarter south-west for three leagues. The most southerly shore of Banca bore east five deg. south, four leagues off, and Lucepara bore south-east quarter south, three leagues off. This is a low woody island. It is dangerous on account of its being surrounded by high sand banks. We had much rain all night.

The 19th, at day-break, we sent the boat ahead to sound. She was to go to the west of the island, and run up until they came to the edge of the sand bank, and trace it round to the same spot; and with the same breeze they anchored in mid-channel with a mud bottom, about a league off shore, so as to serve us for a beacon to pass. At nine A.M. we set sail, with a light wind west-south-west. We scudded due south in six to eight fathoms, and then to five, in a mud bottom slip. The island bore south-east when we were in six fathoms water. The sea was now risen one fathom. At noon, as the wind fell, and then shifted to south-east contrary, we anchored in five fathoms, still with a mud bottom. Lucepara bore east quarter south-east, four deg. south, one and three quarters of a league off. The first headland of the strait bore north quarter north-east, three deg. north, two and a half leagues off.

At two P.M. a large Chinese junk passed within shore of us. She hugged the shore as much as possible, being greatly afraid of us. M. de la Roque sent our boat with the Chinese secretary to ask from whence he came, and to quiet his

alarm. That junk came from Ning-po for Batavia. In the strait we saw another astern of the first, and also bound for Batavia. A third ship was in sight at the same time.

At four P.M. the wind shifted to east-north-east, and we weighed anchor, steering south quarter south-east, south-south-east, south-east, east-south-east. We then turned Lucepara one and a half league to seaward, and anchored at eight P.M. one and a half leagues south of that island, in five fathoms, with a mud bottom. We never found less than four and a half fathoms; and the line we used was our English pilot's, in English measure, half a foot longer than the French, to each fathom. Therefore the danger in this strait is less than has been described; and the pilot who grounded the Oiseau in going out to, and in returning from Siam, must have been bribed or know little of his business. The tide was very irregular all night.

We weighed anchor early next day, with a west and west half south-west wind, and sailed due south in six or seven fathoms. At eight A.M. Lucepara bore north four and a half leagues off; and we then changed our course

to south quarter south-west as near to wind as possible. At noon, the lat. was 3 deg. 25 min. We were then in seven fathoms, with a mud bottom; and Tree Island bore south-west quarter west, four deg. west, four leagues off. This island is low, and covered with very lofty trees. It lies off a headland of Sumatra.

Towards three P.M., by running a little close to the shore, we fell to seven fathoms water, and touched a sand bank. We therefore steered south-east quarter east to gain an offing, and got to eight or nine fathoms. At midnight it fell a dead calm. So we anchored in nine fathoms in a mud bottom. The current set north-north-west.

The 21st, at two A.M., the wind freshened to north-west. We set sail and steered south, until we got into ten to thirteen fathoms. This made us steer south-south-west and south-west, as our English pilot insisted upon keeping to eight or nine fathoms without standing out further. At noon our lat. was 4 deg. 10 min., and on Sunday eleven fathoms in mid channel; yet we steered south-west and south-west quarter west. The currents must have set eastward.

Nevertheless, when the boat anchored, we perceived no current at all. Towards six P.M., the wind being very light, we anchored in nine fathoms, with a mud bottom. The coast of Sumatra looked very low, west quarter south-west.

We weighed anchor the 22nd, with a very light wind, and steered south-south-west and south quarter south-west, in eight or ten fathoms. Our latitude was 4 deg. 36 min. At six P.M. we again anchored in nine and a half fathoms, with a mud bottom.

The Two Brothers bore south quarter south-west, four deg. west, five and a half leagues off, and there we saw two lofty ranges at the entrance of the Strait of Sunda; one bears west-south-west, five deg. south, twenty leagues off; the other south-west quarter south, eighteen leagues off. The ship was six leagues from the land.

Early on the 23rd we weighed anchor with a north-west wind. We steered south-west and south-west quarter west. The Two Brothers lay three quarters of a league west of us. They are two small islands, flat, and full of lofty trees. They are dangerous to the eastward, the bottom

very full of sunk rocks. More than a league at sea, we saw between these islands a brigantine at anchor, with a sloop and a boat. It seemed to be a Dutch vessel fishing for turtle, or it might be a pirate. That night we anchored in ten fathoms, with a mud bottom. The Two Brothers bore north-east quarter north, two leagues off. The coast of Bantam was distinguished to the south, three deg. west, sixteen leagues off. All night the current set eastward.

Early the 24th, we sailed with a light wind at west-south-west. We skirted the shore with an offing still of four to five leagues. We made little way, and anchored at night in twenty fathoms, with a sand and mud bottom. We were five leagues from Sumatra, and twenty from the Cape of Bantam, which bore south, three deg. west.

Early on the 25th, we set sail with a light wind west, and west quarter north-west, and kept close to the wind, on account of the current. Almost on a sudden we fell from twenty to fourteen fathoms, with a bottom of sandy mud, shells and gravel. At the opening of the Straits of Sunda, we saw several Malay Praous

fishing. Towards three P.M. we anchored in sight of Bantam, in twenty fathoms, with a mud bottom. The Fort bore south five deg. east, four leagues off; Pulo Pisang bore south-south east, three quarters of a league off; and Pulo Baly bore east-north-east, three leagues off. That night and the next we had much rain.

The 26th, at three A.M., M. de la Roque sent M. de la Rigaudiere to pay his respects to the Governor of Bantam, and ask if he would receive ten Arabs and six Chinese, passengers with us from Canton. He was also to ask leave to take in some provisions. Our cutter followed the boat, with the sixteen passengers, and anchored outside to wait for the Governor's answer.

He received M. de la Rigaudiere with extreme courtesy; but it was with much difficulty he was prevailed upon to receive the passengers. As to provisions, he advised us to go to Batavia, where we could find all that we needed. We said it would be useless to send the cutter, and bore in again, and excused himself for this, adding that his orders were peremptory. There

was nothing at that moment in the harbour. The four vessels which the Governor of the settlement had, were all away, the last having been despatched to Batavia to announce our being in these seas.

XVI.

BANTAM TO JAVA HEAD BY THE STRAITS OF SUNDA.

FROM THE 27TH OF FEBRUARY TO THE 6TH OF MARCH.

SEVERAL Javanese boats came alongside this day with fish.

We weighed anchor the 27th, at daybreak, with a light wind east-south-east. We sailed for Prince's Island to wood and water. At once we doubled Cape Bantam with a very favourable current, skirting it within musket-shot in thirty-five fathoms. At the opening of the strait we were between two currents. The wind was very light, and upon its falling a dead calm at

ten A.M., we anchored in twenty-two fathoms on a grey black sand. Cape Bantam bore east-north-east, 3 deg. east, one league and three quarters off. The Roque bore west-north-west, 4 deg. north, at the same distance. The coast of Java abreast of us was high and well cultivated in several spots. We hoisted the Dutch flag all day, to bring some boats alongside; but none passed.

About noon, we set sail again with a light fresh wind. Towards four, the north wind freshened, so that we could stem the tide, which began to be contrary. But the wind shifting to west and west-south-west, at eight P.M. we anchored in twenty-nine fathoms, on a bottom of large grey sand. The centre of a low island abreast of Cape Bantam, bore north-west 5 deg. north, two leagues off. The current was contrary all night.

The 28th, at daybreak, as the south wind was high, and the current slackened, we weighed anchor; but we made little way, and the wind failing at eight A.M., we anchored in thirty fathoms, one league from the coast of Java. The tide being, however, in our favour, we again

weighed anchor an hour afterwards, and stood on. Our Dutch flag was more successful to-day; four or five large Javanese boats coming along-side with fowls, ducks, young goats, eggs, cucumbers, water melons, cocoa nuts, and the like provisions, which we got for Dutch coin pretty cheap. They said the Dutch ships buy little, and that if we had hoisted another flag they would have brought many other articles.

We anchored at three P.M., in eighteen fathoms, with a mud bottom, a long league off the land. The island of Trave bore north-north-east, sixteen leagues off. The headland, south-west of the Bay of Poivre, bore south-west quarter south, four leagues off. The Isle of Prince was perceived west-south-west, 3 deg. south, ten leagues off. The current set contrary.

At eight P.M., we set sail with a light west breeze, and after making about a league and a half headway, we anchored in eighteen fathoms.

We set sail the 1st of March early, with a very light west-north-west wind. A large Dutch ship passed to windward of us with a square ensign at the main. She hugged the

Sumatra shore, where in this season the current always sets north-east. She was bound for Batavia. At two P.M., as the wind shifted to south west, and the current was against us, we anchored in twenty-nine fathoms, with a mud bottom. The seaward head of the island of the Prince bore west quarter south-west, six to seven leagues off. All that day and next night the current was against us. In the twenty-four hours it set at least eighteen north-east.

Early the 2nd, with a light land breeze south and south-east, we weighed anchor. As it then freshened strong to south-south-west and south-west, we were obliged to beat; and at nine P.M. we anchored in thirty-seven fathoms in mud. The lofty hills on the Island of the Prince bore due west, two and a half leagues off.

The 3rd, at daybreak, we set sail with variable winds, rain, and hail. We at last reached the island of the Prince, and anchored at two P.M. in forty fathoms, with a bottom of muddy sand, one third of a league off shore. We would willingly have got nearer to twenty or twenty-five fathoms; but the wind was against us. We were anchored in an inlet south-east of the

island, where the Dutch ships wood and water on their route from Europe. We saw one standing south, which had but just left. It was probably the ship which passed by Bantam eight days before us.

We sent our cutter and boat ashore well armed against tigers, said to be numerous there, and our people saw traces of several, but met none.

We took in four cutter-loads of wood, and as many of water.

The 5th, we weighed anchor with a light south-west breeze. We tacked all day to get clear of the strait, the current favouring us a little. By night we were out of it. There is great danger in getting off the land here; and it is prudent to anchor in-shore as little as possible. Java is well peopled on this side. The valleys are rich, and the hills are well cultivated.

XVII.

JAVA HEAD TO MAURITIUS AND BOURBON.

FROM THE 6TH OF MARCH TO THE 6TH OF APRIL, 1700.

THE 6th of March, at noon, Java Head bore north-north-east, 5 deg. east, ten leagues off; and at four P.M. we lost sight of land. The wind shifted from west-north-west to south-west. The weather was dark and rainy. The south-east traders seldom meet until 10 deg. south. So the best course after leaving the Straits of Sunda is that which the soonest reaches the parallel of 10 deg. south. Even if a south-easter is met sooner, it will not serve, since it will only carry the ship into calms. It is best to steer south-west, and even south-west quarter south to 14 or 15 deg. south latitude, and there find the true route. We pursued this principle in order to fetch the Isle of Bourbon, and so have steadier winds.

The 7th and 8th, we had a west wind and much calm.

The 8th, at night, the wind shifted to south-east and east, but very light, with thunder and lightning all night. We were only in lat. 8 deg. 30 min. south, so that we had met the trades sooner than was expected.

At about eleven that night, a ship passed us at half gun-shot, making to the Strait of Sunda. We did not speak.

The 12th, at noon, in lat. 30 deg. 45 min. south, with the wind still south-east and strong, we steered even from west to west-south-west.

The 17th, at noon, in lat. 19 deg. 30 min. and long. 106 deg. 3 min., we again changed our course from west-south-west to west, which was equal only to west quarter south-west, from the variations beginning to increase towards north-west. Our latitude to-day, by observation, was 19 deg. south.

The 20th, at noon, we changed our course to west quarter north-west. We were in lat. 20 deg. 4 min., and long. 93 deg. 58 min. The variation was 13 deg. 30 min. north-west.

The 24th, in lat. 20 deg. 25 min., and long. 88 deg. 6 min., the variation being 16 deg., we changed our course to west-north-west, equal

to west some degrees north. The wind was still south-east, fresh and strong. We saw great numbers of Bonitoes.

The 31st, at seven A.M., we saw the Isle of Mauritius, north-west, ten leagues off. In sighting this island the variation was 21 deg. 30 min. north-west at noon, the island bearing north-west quarter north, five leagues off. The lat. was 20 deg. 35 min. At sunset the headland west of the island bore north-east six leagues off; and then we observed 24 deg. variation.

The island of Mauritius belongs to the Dutch. It is lofty in several spots. It is more than sixty leagues round, and has two good ports—one north-north-east — the other south-south-west. It is thirty-four leagues from Bourbon.

From Mauritius we sailed west quarter north-west, and west-north-west. The wind was fair and strong.

The 1st of April, at two A.M., we were abreast of the coast of Bourbon, two leagues to the eastward. At dawn we filled sails, and skirted the coast for eight leagues, half a gun-shot off the shore. Doubling two or three low head-

lands here, we saw several plantations of the district of Suzanne. We discharged two guns with ball, to tell people to hoist a flag, lest we should miss the anchorage, which no one on board was well acquainted with. We sounded from time to time in sixteen to eighteen fathoms, in a bottom of black sand. All that coast affords good anchorage.

Upon nearing the road of St. Denis, we made out the flag on the head of the large headland which makes one of the two points of the anchoring ground. They had answered our gun-shots, but we heard nothing. We anchored at nine A.M. in eight fathoms, in a bottom of black sand, within musket-shot of the shore. The large headland bore west 5 deg. north, at a gun-shot. The flag bore south-south-east; and the head of a reef at the other side of the anchorage-ground bore south-east 5 deg. east. We saluted the French flag with five guns, which were returned.

We stayed at St. Denis till the 5th of April, to take in wood and some provisions. Early on the 6th we sailed for St. Paul, seven leagues from St. Denis. The governor of Bourbon

went with us; and we anchored the same day at eleven P.M., in eighteen fathoms and a sandy bottom. One of the headlands of the island bore north-east quarter north, a league and a half off. The other bore west quarter south-west three-quarters of a league off.

We stayed six days at St. Paul's, to water and complete our provisions. It is very difficult to take in water there, from the violence of the surf. Sailors can only land by swimming. They take the casks on shore, and re-embark them with a raft.

XVIII.

BOURBON TO ST. HELENA.

FROM THE 13TH TO THE 31ST OF APRIL, 1700.

THE 13th we weighed anchor, with a light west wind, and sailed for St. Helena, having determined not to call at the Cape of Good Hope, from distrust of the Dutch. We saluted the governor with five guns. He then came on board to take

leave of us. During the night of the 13th we saw the lights of *La Souffrein* bearing east-south-east six leagues off.

The 14th, all day, we had variable winds west-south-west to south and south-south-east with much calm and rain. At eight P.M. the island still bore east-north-east ten leagues off. At sun-set the variation was 23 deg. 30 min. north. In the road of St. Denis we found it 24 deg. 30 min.

The 15th the wind was south-west and east-south-east. We steered south quarter south-west, but kept free.

Early the 16th we sprung our main-top, and was repaired. The wind continued fair and free at south-east as we steered still south-south-west and south quarter south-west, to be clear of the sunk headlands of Madagascar, where there are sunk rocks thirty leagues off there, to lat. 27 deg. 30 min. south. To-day, at noon, our latitude was 26 deg. 4 min., and our long. by reckoning 74 deg. 21. min. At sun-rise the variation was 22 north-west.

The 18th we handled new sails, to be the better prepared to double the Cape. The wind was north-west to west-south-west, and

contrary. The variation was 24 deg. north-west.

The 20th the wind shifted to east and north. At noon, by reckoning, we were in lat. 32 deg. 30 min. and 67 deg. 39 min. long. At nine P.M. the wind all at once chopped round from north to south. At ten P.M. it blew hard south-west, and we parted our top-sails. All that night and till late next day the storm increased, the wind continuing at south-west with much rain and lightning. The sea was frightfully high; and we ran under bare poles except the fore-sail. In the morning we lay-to under the mizen-sail; but when it split, and the hurricane augmenting, we were obliged to reduce every rag of canvas, and drive with the wind still at south.

At four P.M. the gale moderated, and fell off to south-south-east; but we scudded under our fore-sail close reefed.

The 23rd, the sea having gone down, and the wind much abated, we set our mainsail and main-topsail. Our lat. was 52 deg. 17 min., our long. 62 deg. 3 min.

The night of the 23rd it was a dead calm,

with the wind shifting north to west, and south-west, and ran upon a heavy sea.

The 26th, the wind at south-south-west, and south, we stood west and west quarter north-west. At sunset the variation was north-west; the lat. 32 deg. 48 min., and long. 58 deg. 42 min. The next day, at night, the variation was only 22 deg. All night of the 27th, the wind shifted to north and north-north-west, and freshened. We took in a reef in the main topsail. With variation corrected we steered south-west, and at noon our lat. was 34 deg. 28 min., and long. 56 deg. 20 min.

The 30th the wind changed fair and strong to east-south-east. Our lat. being near 35 deg. 50 min., we sailed due west to gain in longitude.

The 1st and 2nd of May, the wind was still fair and strong, at east-south-east, with a heavy sea.

The 2nd our lat. was 36 deg. 21 min., the long. 46 deg 38 min., and this day we saw many sea wolves and birds

All this night it was a dead calm. In the morning the wind blew south-west, with a thick fog. At noon we saw a log floating by. The

lat. was 36 deg. 6 min. long. 36 deg. 3 min., the variation 19 deg. 30 min. north-east.

The 4th we saw immense numbers of albatrosses, and caught some bonitos. The wind came round to the east, with a fine sky and smooth water.

The 5th, our lat. was 35 deg. 30 min. Some of our pilots insisting we were upon the Agulhas Shoal, we sounded, but without a bottom, at one hundred and fifty fathoms. At night the wind came round to west and west-south-east. We stood south and south quarter south-east, for fear of getting too near the shore. At night the wind blew hard west-south-west, with rain.

The 6th and 7th the wind ranged from west to south-west. So we stretched first south and then west-north-west, as the wind shifted to south-west and south-west quarter south.

The 8th and 9th we had a south-east and a north west wind, but very light. Early on the 9th we found only 11 deg. 40 min. variation, which was about the same we had two years before, north and south of the Cape of Good Hope. We therefore considered we had passed the Agulhas Shoal. We then steered north-

west quarter west, and at noon north-west quarter north, taking our course for St. Helena, and intending to sight the Cape mainland if possible. The lat. at noon was 36 deg. 29 min.; our reckoning had before fixed much more northerly. There must, therefore, be two streams here to south-west. All day we saw numerous birds. The sea, too, seemed to have altered its character; the waves being long, and spread out like a sea rolling from the bottom. This led us to suppose we could not be far from the shore. So we sounded at five A.M., but found no bottom at one hundred and sixty fathoms. The Agulhas Bank extends from 38 deg. 40 min. to 36 deg. 28 min. south lat. The bottom of mud, in forty to one hundred and twenty fathoms.

In the night of the 9th the wind changed strong to north and north-north-west. The sea was very heavy; so we furled our maintop sails. That day we could observe neither the latitude, nor the variation. At night we saw numerous blowing whales.

The 11th, at four A.M., the wind chopped round from north to south-west, and backed our sails; so that with the excessively rough

sea, and sudden jerk of the rudder, the tiller snapped in two. We furled all our sails, and let the ship drift till the rudder was repaired. In two hours we had put in a new tiller; and then stood all day north-north-west. Towards evening and all night we steered north-west quarter north, for fear of the land.

The 12th, at noon, we made our lat. 33 deg. 38 min., and long. 35 deg. 50 min. We now began to leave the Cape astern, and doubled it without seeing either the mainland or the bank. The variation alone helped us to correct our reckoning for the longitude.

The 13th our lat. was 32 deg. 4 min., the wind fair and strong south-west and south-south-west. We steered north-west, allowing for the variation, that is to say, we bore only north-west quarter north to the parallel of St. Helena, with a fair south-east wind. As the variation lessened as we neared that island, the true course was north-west 5 deg. north.

The 21st, at noon, in lat. 16 deg. 24 min., we altered our course at four P.M. from north-west quarter north to west, to fetch St. Helena.

The 22nd no observation could be taken.

We had already made fifty leagues west; and by reckoning we were still in 16 deg. 10 min., which is the lat. of the more northern point of the island. Towards six P.M., our pilots reckoning upon the land, we furled all our canvas; and stood out all night with topsails in the top, lest we should run by the island. The wind was east-south-east, fine and strong; and we steered 36 deg. more west.

The 23rd, at daybreak, as we began to fill our sails, we sighted St. Helena about eight leagues off, north-north-east. The horizon was very thick, and we were making good way, so that if night had lasted an hour longer we must have passed the island without seeing anything of it. Until four P.M. we scudded as near the wind as possible, north-east quarter north—north-east and east-north-north, to get to westward of it. Here, as there was a heavy sea on, we could not reach it; so we bore up by the south side along-shore from the Needles Rocks to the road, within a little gun-shot. The English were surprised we could get in so soon that side, and told us we were the first ship that for ten years had succeeded so well. It is usual to take the north

passage. We now furled our mainsail too soon and, being no longer able to keep in shore, we had to anchor a little off, in thirty-six fathoms, and then drove to forty-five and fifty. During the night we hauled into thirty-five fathoms upon our sheet anchor, and to twenty-five upon our mooring anchor. The bottom was muddy, and a good holding ground.

We found M. des Augers in the road with four ships, two of the king's and two of the company's—two English ships and a Hollander. While under sail, we saluted M. des Augers with eleven guns, which he returned. As the sun was set, we did not salute the fort till next morning. We then saluted it with seven guns, which were returned. The governor of the island belongs to the French Reformed Church. His name is Poirel, a native of Blois.

M. des Augers sailed that night with three of his ships for Ascension, where they meant to take in turtle. The Castricon, a larger ship, remained for ballast.

The 26th, the two English ships and the Hollander sailed also.

We stayed at St. Helena till the 1st, to

water, and take in some provisions. Wood there is none, except in the centre of the island, and in the deep valleys. It is twelve leagues in circumference, and almost everywhere inaccessible by sea—the cliffs being like walls. At such inlets as can be landed on, there are batteries to stop it.

XIX.

ST. HELENA TO FAYAL.

FROM THE 31ST OF JULY TO THE 2ND OF AUGUST, 1700.

THE 31st, towards nine A.M., we sailed for Ascension, steering north-west quarter north. The wind was still south-south-east, and sometimes east-north-east, fine and strong. The sea was very smooth, with a little rain.

The 5th, at two P.M., in exactly 7 deg. 50 min., the latitude of Ascension, we altered our course from north-west quarter north to due west, to make the island out. Our pilots reckoned it to be forty leagues off.

The wind was strong south-east, and we saw

the island at five A.M. the 6th. We bore west quarter north-west, five leagues off. We skirted its north shore at half gun-shot distance, and anchored north-west off within a quarter of a league in a rockly inlet, and thirteen fathoms, a bottom of sand, rather sand and coral. The Red Hill bore south-east 3 deg. south. At west, a league off shore, in south-west quarter west, there is a reef with breakers in a heavy sea.

In a bottle, at the foot of a Portuguese cross, upon the Red Hill, we found a letter, stating that M. des Angers anchored there the 31st of May, and turned four turtle. There was also a letter for the Castrion coming after us, and the Castrion would leave letters for her followers. We sent some people ashore to turn the turtle in the night, but whether some English or Dutch ships had been there, or whether our boat got ashore too late and the turtle had escaped to the water, we found only one; it weighed, however, three hundred pounds.

The 7th, at ten A.M., we weighed anchor, and made sail for Fayal, where M. de la Roque meant to touch, as he had informed the company he would, for orders and intelligence as to

peace or war. We steered north-west to 4 deg. north, with a fair strong wind from south-east to east. We crossed the line the 13th, at three P.M., in long. 35 deg., without experiencing heat, and very calm.

The 16th, at noon, in lat. 4 deg. north, by observation, we changed our course from north-west to north-north-west. The wind was still fair and strong, at south-east. We had as yet steered north-west direct, in order to keep clear of a south ridge of rock on that parallel, and which we left on starboard.

The 17th, the wind shifted to south-south-east and south-west, was still fair and strong.

The current here set north.

The 18th and 19th, the wind was again at south-east.

The 20th, the wind stood strong at north-east, in lat. 11 deg. 6 min. north, and in long. 35 deg. 21 min. by reckoning. We still steered north-north-west, to give a wide berth to the Cape de Verds, and not encounter the calms thought by the pilots to prevail there near shore. We found no variation.

The 23rd, we changed our course from north-

north-west to north quarter north-west, steering to the wind. The lat. was 17 deg. 5 min. north.

We still had fair strong winds at north-east and east-north-east, but the weather clouded over, and was rainy to the 26th, on which day we turned the sun and crossed the tropic. By reckoning we were in lat. 23 deg. 31 min., and long. 34 deg. 11 min.

The 27th to the 29th, the nearness to the sun gave us a little calm, and we began to have scattered heaps of sea-weed with leaves and plants about the ship. In the few following days the sea was quite covered with them. This sea-weed here spreads east and west in great beds from space to space.

The 7th of July, the variation was 7 deg. north-west, in lat. 35 deg. 52 min., the long. 34 deg. 40 min. The wind ranged north-east to north. We bore north to north-west.

To the 9th, the wind shifted to east-north-east, east-south-east, and south. The weather was clear and the sea smooth. We steered east-north-east and east quarter north-east. The sea-weed began to disappear.

The 10th to the 12th, the wind was variable

from south to west-south-west, north-west, and even north-east. It was mostly dead calm. The 12th, the sea-weed entirely disappeared, but we saw that day a large branch of a tree floating by. By reckoning, the lat. was 38 deg. 31 min., and the long. 38 deg. 22 min., or within a few minutes of Fayal. Our pilots had depended on seeing land this day.

The 13th and 14th, the wind shifted to south-east; so we were obliged to steer east-north-east. At this course we made fifty-five leagues; we saw no land. Our latitude being now, by observation, 39 deg. 6 min., the pilots thought we had passed between Fayal and Flora. The weather became cloudy, and a heavy swell came on from west-north-west.

The 15th, at noon, the lat. was 39 deg. 21 min., and we returned to south $\frac{1}{4}$ south-east, to reach the parallel of Fayal, conjecturing we must be to its westward, or to fall in with the islands if we had passed them.

The 16th and 17th, the wind shifted to north-east and east, dead contrary. Our latitude was 38 deg. 34 min. on the 16th, and no land seen. We must be still west of Fayal. The 17th, as

the wind was still east, with no sign of our fetching that port, M. de la Roque determined to sail direct for France; and we began to run north and north quarter north-east, for a higher latitude and west winds.

The 19th, after a shift of wind to south-east, it fell a dead calm.

The 20th, it blew north-west with thick weather. We steered north-east quarter east. Our lat. was 42 deg. 5 min., long. 34 deg. 58 min.

The 23rd, at noon, we spoke a Fly boat of Cherbourg, bound to the Banks for cod. She had been out twenty days, from La Rochelle, with her salt. She made the distance two hundred and fifty leagues from Ushant. The fresh news from home was very acceptable, as we were uncertain whether there was peace or war. We then saw another vessel five leagues to windward. The Fly boat called her English. This day, by reckoning, we were in 48 deg. 33 min. lat., and 35 deg. long. We steered east-north-east. The wind was still fair, but light, west-south west and west-north-west.

The 24th, P.M., we saw two ships running south-west to leeward.

The 26th, we were in lat. 47 deg., but wanted 15 min. for the parallel of Belle Isle, our port. As, however, we had to allow for some degrees of variation northward, we began to make easters only. This night one of our men died of scurvy.

The 27th, at daybreak, we saw a ship standing south-south-west, and another at noon standing north. This night we began sounding, but found no bottom.

The 28th, we sounded again, but no bottom. All our pilots were out in their reckoning.

Early the 29th, a mast and part of a wreck floated by, and at night again no soundings. The wind was fair and strong, west and west-south-west, and we made good way.

The 30th, at noon, our lat. was 47 deg. 30 min.; but ever since the 26th it had been too hazy for observation. A little A.M. we saw to windward a ship, to which we gave chase, to learn whence she came and whither bound. We showed our colours to speak and correct our reckoning; and she hung out an English flag. But she would not speak with us. Not being so fast a sailor as that ship, we could not

bring her to. Towards evening we saw another sail to north. Her course was south east, and ours east, with a fair wind. So we soon crossed. She was a small French vessel from St. Malo to Bayonne. They made us fifteen leagues from Ushant north-north-east and south-south-west. We sounded in seventy fathoms, with a bottom of broken shells. We then steered east-south-east, to gain the parallel of Belle Isle. At midnight, we were in eighty fathoms with the same bottom, and steered again east quarter south-east and east.

The 31st, we saw Belle Isle at about 9 A.M., and in the afternoon anchored two-thirds of a league off the fort, in nine fathoms. M. de Boossy and M. de Beaulieu were sent to Vannes to take the Diligence there, and carry intelligence of the ship's return to the King and the Company.

The 2nd of August, we sailed from Belle Isle, and anchored the same night under Gion. Next day, at noon, we entered into the port of St. Louis.

END OF JOURNAL.

APPENDIX.

A.

THE ADDRESS OF THE EARL OF ELGIN (AMBASSADOR PLENIPOTENTIARY TO THE COURTS OF PEKIN AND JAPAN) TO THE MERCHANTS, PRIOR TO THE EXECUTION OF THE RECENT TREATIES WITH THE EMPERORS OF CHINA AND JAPAN.

"GENTLEMEN, I am very thankful to you for this address of welcome. I trust that the kindness which has prompted it will also induce you to favour me with the valuable aid of your experience to enable me to judge correctly of the causes which have contributed to give to Shanghae its eminent position among the ports opened to trade with China.

"It is satisfactory to me to learn that you approve of what has taken place at Canton, and that I have your good wishes for the future success of my mission. I should respond but indifferently to these expressions of regard if I were to refrain from stating to you frankly the principles on which I have hitherto proceeded, and still intend to proceed, in the discharge of duties that have reference to matters in which you have so deep an interest.

"In furnishing instructions for my guidance, when I was appointed High Commissioner in China, her Majesty's Government saw fit to entrust me with a wide discretion. Circumstances, however, as you probably know, which were altogether unforeseen at the time when those instructions were framed, rendered them in some degree inapplicable, and thus materially enlarged the discretion originally confided to me.

"*I found myself accordingly, on my arrival in this country, compelled to act, in a great measure, on my own judgment.* I accepted this task, as in duty bound, without hesitation, but not, I hope, without a due sense of the responsibility attaching to an agent who, in a distant land, beyond the reach of advice, and in circumstances of unusual difficulty, finds himself the

guardian of the good name and interest of a great Christian nation.

"In my communications with the functionaries of the Chinese I have been guided by two simple rules of action. I have never preferred a demand which I did not believe to be both moderate and just, and from a demand so preferred I have never receded. These principles dictated the policy which resulted in the capture and occupation of Canton. The same principles will be followed by me, with the same determination to their results, if it should be necessary to repeat the experiment in the vicinity of the capital of the Emperor of China.

"It is matter for me of the highest gratification to know that in pursuing this policy of combined moderation and firmness, I can count not only on the hearty co-operation and active support of the representative of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French, but also on the good-will and sympathy of the representatives of other great and powerful nations interested with ourselves in extending the area of Christian civilization, and *multiplying those commercialities which are destined to bind the East and West together in the bonds of mutual advantage.*

"One word, gentlemen, in conclusion, as to the part which we have respectively to play in this important work, and more especially with reference to the last sentence of your address, in which you express the trust that the result of my exertions may be 'more fully to develop the vast resources of China,' and to 'extend among the people the elevating influences of a higher civilisation.'

"The expectations held out to British manufacturers at the close of the last war between Great Britain and China, when they were told that a new world was opened to their trade, so vast that all the mills in Lancashire could not make stocking-stuff sufficient for one of its provinces, have not been realised, and I AM OF OPINION THAT WHEN FORCE AND DIPLOMACY SHALL HAVE DONE ALL THAT THEY CAN LEGITIMATELY EFFECT, THE WORK WHICH HAS TO BE ACCOMPLISHED IN CHINA WILL BE BUT AT ITS COMMENCEMENT.

"When the barriers which prevent free access to the interior of the country shall have been removed, the Christian civilisation of the West will find itself face to face, not with barbarism, but with an ancient civilisation in many respects effete and imperfect, but in others not without

claims to our sympathy and respect. In the rivalry which will then ensue, Christian civilisation will have to win its way among a sceptical and ingenious people, by making it manifest that a faith which reaches to heaven furnishes better guarantees for public and private morality than one which does not rise above the earth.

"At the same time the machine-facturing West will be in presence of a population the most universally and laboriously manufacturing of any on the earth. It can achieve victories in the contest in which it will have to engage, only by proving that physical knowledge and mechanical skill applied to the arts of production, are more than a match for the most persevering efforts of unscientific industry.

"This is the task which is before you, and towards the accomplishment of which, within the sphere of my duty, I shall rejoice to co-operate."

B.

THE INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN BY COMMAND OF HIS MAJESTY GEORGE THE THIRD, IN 1787, TO THE HON. COLONEL CHARLES CATHCART, WHEN APPOINTED AMBASSADOR TO THE COURT OF PEKIN.

"To the Honorable Charles Cathcart.

"Sir,

"In addressing you on the subject of the duty you are now about to undertake, it will be unnecessary for me to enlarge upon the great national importance of the trade which has for a series of many years been carried on between Great Britain and China. But it is necessary to engage your particular attention to those objects which now conspire to enhance its importance: First, the measures lately taken by Government for drawing the tea trade out of the hands of the other European nations, which have answered the warmest expectations, and doubled, if not trebled, the former legal importation of this article into Great Britain; and secondly, an attention to the prosperity of our territorial possessions in India, which would be promoted by procuring a secure vent for their

products and manufactures in the extensive empire of China; at the same time that the produce of such sales would furnish resources for the investment to Europe, now requiring no less an annual sum than £1,300,000.

"Great Britain, however, has long been obliged to pursue this trade under circumstances the most discouraging, hazardous to its agents employed in conducting it, and precarious to the various interests involved in it. At Canton, the only place where His Majesty's subjects have the privilege of a factory, and to which the East India Company have by a late regulation restricted the trade from their own settlements, the fair competition of the market is destroyed by associations of the Chinese merchants; our supra cargoes are denied open access to the tribunals of the country, and the fair execution of its laws, and are kept altogether in a most arbitrary and cruel state of depression, incompatible with the very important concerns which are entrusted to them, and such as one hardly supposes could be exercised in any country that pretends to civilization.

"Whether these evils have arisen from any settled policy of the Imperial Government, or from any illfounded jealousy of our national

influence, or whether they are created merely by the corruptions and abuses of a distant provincial administration, it will be your business to ascertain, as it will be the chief object of your present mission to endeavour to obtain a remedy for them; and you will render an acceptable service to your country if you shall be successful in the accomplishment of His Majesty's wishes, which I have his royal commands to impart to you, together with such further instructions as may seem best calculated to promote it. At the same time you may proceed upon the reliance that in any undertaking both new and delicate, and liable to be influenced by various contingencies to arise in its progress, every reasonable latitude will be allowed to your own discretion.

"A common prejudice has prevailed that the Chinese in general are studious to avoid any intimate connexion or intercourse with Europeans, and that a similar principle operates upon the Imperial Government of Pekin. However, although commercial jealousy, aided by the tyranny and corruption of distant delegates, under a despotic sovereign, and the general depravity of the inhabitants, may have had that effect in the province of Canton, the relation of various travellers afford the strongest reason to

believe, that the Emperor himself is accessible, that the reception of foreigners at Pekin is courteous, and that the policy of encouraging foreign trade is not ill understood there. Without entering into any detail of the embassies and travels which tend to justify this belief, I cannot but refer more especially to the information derived from the account published by Mr. Bell, who accompanied an embassy from the Czar, Peter the First, to the Emperor of China, in the years 1719-20-21; when a factory was allowed to the Russian merchants even in the city of Pekin, which it may be presumed still continues for the convenience and protection of the caravans now continually sent from the Russian dominions.

"If political jealousy were the chief principle to excite such alarm in the Chinese, as should lead them to discourage the entrance of foreigners, it should seem that it would apply with singular force against the Russians, who from the propinquity of their dominions, the reputed greatness of their power, and the danger of their leaguing with the princes of those Tartar countries which have sent forth the former conquerors of China, might possibly, in imagi-

nation at least, cause distrust in the reigning government, or affect its security.

"The contrary is likewise to be inferred from the reputed wisdom of the Chinese administration, and a national character is not to be formed, nor the dispositions of the superior government estimated from the practices of a seaport situated at the most distant extremity from the metropolis, and a province formerly the seat of pirates and robbers.

"But if, contrary to these suppositions and inferences, such jealousy should really exist, as it can proceed only from fear, and a sense of their own internal weakness, natural to a vicious people and a despotic power; it will depend upon your management to obviate it, by declarations the most free and unqualified, that in seeking a connexion with China, we have no view but commerce to be protected by the Chinese government, subject to its laws and regulations, and formed upon a permanent principle mutually beneficial.

"It is supposed that former endeavours which have been made by the English, or other European Companies, to represent their grievances at the Court of Pekin, and obtain defined privileges for their trade, have failed from the intrigues of the mandarins and merchants of

Canton, and from the inferior rank or character of the persons who have been on such commission. It has therefore been determined to attempt an embassy to the Emperor himself, in the name of His Majesty the King of Great Britain. In which view it is presumed, that a gentleman of honourable birth, as also a member of the legislative body, would be most likely to have a favourable reception from a proud and ostentatious people, accustomed to think meanly of the commercial character. The propriety of this distinction is enforced by the decided opinion of the most respectable persons, who have been experienced in the Company's concerns at Canton, and witnesses of the vexations under which they labour.

"I observe, that in the year 1753, an ambassador from the King of Portugal, sent for the purpose of obtaining some privileges for the church, was allowed to proceed without interruption from Canton to Pekin, and was treated with great honour. But I must leave it to your own discretion, whether to pursue that route or not; observing only, that it is to be expected every obstacle will be thrown in your way from that quarter, and that even the publicity of your mission might give birth to such chicanery as

would greatly embarrass, if not totally defeat the purpose of it.

"Objections of a similar nature would lie against your proceeding with a Russian caravan, and the newly-discovered communication through Tibet from Bengal seems too long and hazardous to be entered upon, as well as very doubtful in the result.

"I am of opinion, therefore, you should, if possible, proceed directly by sea to some port on the east or north-east coast of the Chinese empire, and request a safe conduct for your advance to the capital, in order to deliver your credentials, with the letter from your Royal Master to his Imperial Majesty. This precaution will be absolutely necessary, if, as I presume to be the case, no embassador enters the Chinese dominions but with permission previously obtained.

"If it shall be absolutely necessary to stop at some southern port of China before you proceed to the northward, you will touch at Macao or Canton, where you will require, and collect from the Company's Council, or by private enquiry, such facts and information as may be useful to you in the prosecution of the objects of your embassy, and receive such further aid as may

he necessary to enable you to proceed from thence to the northward. If some cogent reason should occur to render an approach to Pekin by a northern port ineligible, you will be under the necessity of proceeding by land from Canton, and must require such further aid as may be necessary to enable the Embassy to pursue that route.

"His Majesty, from a hearty desire to promote the present undertaking, and in order to give the greater dignity to the Embassy, has been graciously pleased to order one of his own frigates to convey you and your suite to the coast of China, and it will be left to your option to detach one of the lieutenants bearing his Majesty's uniform to accompany the messenger who announces at Pekin your arrival on the coast. Perhaps in your progress to Pekin you may meet with some intelligent Portuguese, Spanish, or Italian missionary, who may be free from any national attachment or prejudice, and who may be a proper person to be employed in your service.

"Should your answer be satisfactory, and I will not suppose the contrary, you will then assume the character and public show of an embassador, and proceed to Pekin with as much

ceremony as can be admitted without causing a material delay, or incurring any unreasonable expense. You will procure an audience as early as possible after your arrival, conforming to all ceremonials of that court, which may not commit the honour of your sovereign or lessen your own dignity, so as to endanger the success of your negotiation. Whilst I make this reserve, I am satisfied you will be too prudent and considerate to let any trifling punctilio stand in the way of the important benefits which may be obtained by engaging the favourable disposition of the Emperor and his ministers. It is not unlikely that his curiosity may lead to a degree of familiarity with you, in conversing upon the manners or circumstances of Europe and other countries; and as despotic princes are frequently more easy of access than their ministers and dependents, you will not fail to turn such a contingency to proper advantage. I do not pretend to prescribe to you the particular mode of your negotiation; much must be left to your own circumspection and the judgment to be formed upon occurrences as they arise. But upon the present view of the matter, my opinion is briefly this, that instead of attempting to gain upon the Chinese administration by arti-

tice or deception, or by representations founded upon the intricacies of either European or Indian politics, you should honestly and fairly state, after the general assurances of his Majesty's friendly and pacific inclinations towards the Emperor, and his respect for the reputed mildness and equity of his administration. First, the mutual benefits to be derived from a trade between the two nations, in the course of which we receive, besides other articles, to the amount of 20,000,000lbs. of a Chinese herb, which would find no other vent, as being little used by any other country, European or Asiatic, and for which we return woollens, cottons, and other articles useful to the Chinese, but the greater part is actually paid to China in bullion. Second, that the great extent of our commercial concerns in China requires a place of security as a depôt for our goods, which cannot be sold off or shipped during the short season that is allowed for our shipping to arrive and depart, and that for this purpose we wish to obtain a grant of a small tract of ground, or detached island, in some more convenient situation than Canton, where our warehouses lie at a great distance from our ships, and we are not able to restrain the irregularities which are occasionally com-

mitted by the seamen of the Company's ships and those of private traders. Third, that our views are purely commercial, having not even a wish for territory; that we desire neither fortification nor defence, but only the protection of the Chinese Government for our merchants or their agents, in trading or travelling through the country, and to secure us against the encroachments of other powers, who might ever aim at disturbing our trade. And you must here be prepared to obviate any prejudice which may accrue from the argument of our present dominion in India, by stating it to have arisen almost without our seeking it, from the necessity of defending ourselves against the oppressors of the revolted nabobs who entered into cabals to our prejudice with other nations of Europe, and disregarded the privileges granted us by different Emperors, or by such other arguments as your own reflections upon this subject may suggest.

"This topic I have reason to believe it will be very necessary to enforce by every means in your power, as it is the great object of other European nations to inspire not only the Indian powers, but likewise the Emperor and Ministers of China with an idea of danger in counte-

nancing the subjects of Great Britain, it being the intention of that country to aim at extending its sovereignty in every quarter; as nothing can be more untrue than those representations, it will be your peculiar care to counteract the effects of them.

"The difficulties and vexations under which our trade has long laboured at Canton must be forcibly represented as proceeding from the malversations of the Viceroy and Merchants and Ministers of Justice in contravention of the orders and intentions of the Imperial Court, all which his Britannic Majesty chose rather to lay before the Emperor himself, in full confidence of redress from his wisdom and justice, than suffer his subjects to take any measures for redressing themselves, which might give disquiet to any branch of the Imperial Government.

"Should a new establishment be conceded, you will take it in the name of the King of Great Britain.

"You will of course endeavour to obtain it in the most beneficial terms, with a power of regulating the police, and exercising jurisdiction over our own dependants, for which competent powers would, of course, be given from our own Legislature, so as effectually to prevent or punish

the disorders of our people, which the Company's supra cargoes in their limited sphere of action must see committed with impunity. Should it be required that no native Chinese be subject to be punished by our jurisdiction, or should any particular modification of this power be exacted, it is not material to insist upon it, provided British subjects can be exempted from the Chinese jurisdiction for crimes they may commit, and that the British Chief be not held responsible if any culprit should escape the pursuit of justice, and after search has been made by British and Chinese officers acting in conjunction.

"If the Emperor should be inclined to allow such an establishment, great care must be taken in fixing upon the situation, that it be such as may suit the conveniency and safety of our shipping; that it may facilitate the vent of the goods we may import there; and that it may be near the countries where the best sorts of tea are produced, which are described as lying between the 27th and 30th degrees of north longitude. I mention these points as being certainly consequential in themselves, at the same time I am sensible that the choice of a place, if you should be so fortunate as to have

the option left to you, must be governed by a variety of considerations, to which few, if any, in this country can be totally competent; and you must therefore be regulated by the best information you are able to obtain from persons you will meet with abroad conversant in the subject, or by circumstances to arise, as you proceed in the business.

"If, on the other hand, all your attempts to obtain a new establishment should be decidedly ineffectual, you must turn your whole attention to the relief of our present embarrassments at Canton by an extension of our privileges, and a revision of the unjust proceedings which have taken place there to our prejudice and discredit. And whatever may be the decision of the Imperial Government, unless, indeed, it should be a rejection of all your requests, it will be desirable to obtain it in writing, under such formalities as may enable us to carry it with some éclat to the province where the ill-treatment of our subjects has originated.

"It is necessary you should be on your guard against one stipulation which may perhaps be demanded of you, that is, for the exclusion of the trade of opium from the Chinese dominions, as being prohibited by the laws of the

empire. If this subject should come into discussion, it must be handled with the greatest circumspection. It is beyond a doubt, that no inconsiderable portion of the opium raised within our Indian territories actually finds its way to China, where the vicious manners of the people call for an increasing use of that pernicious drug. But if it should be made a positive requisition, or an article of any supposed commercial treaty, that we shall not send any opium to China, you must accede to it, rather than risk any essential benefit by contending for a liberty in this respect, and the sale of our opium in Bengal must be left to take its chance in open market, or to find a consumption in the dispersed and circuitous traffic of the Eastern Seas.

"In case the Embassy should have an amicable and prosperous termination, it may be proposed to his Imperial Majesty to receive an occasional or perpetual Minister from the King of Great Britain, and to send one on his own part to the Court of London, in the assurance that all proper honours will be paid to any person who may be deputed in that sacred character.

"I have now, Sir, in conformity to his Ma-

jesty's commands, laid before you every object of leading importance, to which your present deputation is directed. You will have free access before your departure, under the directions of the Secret Committee, to the East India Company's correspondence with their supra cargoes at Canton, and copies will be made for your use of any particular papers you may wish to carry with you.

"Agreeably to your request, you will be permitted to take along with you—

"1st. Lieut. Young.

"2nd. Captain Agnew.

"3rd. Ensign Dowers.

"4th. Dr. Ewart, and Mr. Galbert,

a gentleman whom you state to be conversant in the Chinese Court language, and qualified to act as your interpreter.

"Throughout the course of your proceedings you will take every possible opportunity that may arise for a communication with Earl Cornwallis, the Governor-General of India, and will, to the utmost, be guided by the instructions you may receive from him.

"I would recommend that you keep a diary of occurrences from the time of your arrival in China, and enter upon it all circumstances or

occurrences upon political, commercial, and even nautical subjects. It is particularly worthy your enquiry, whether it may not be practicable to increase our present exports to China, either in the assortments usually sent, or in any other products or manufactures of Great Britain, which might be favourably received by the Chinese. And you will naturally, in the course of your residence in China, extend your remarks as far as can be done without exciting jealousy, which must be carefully avoided, to every article likely to throw a light upon the present strength, policy, and government of that empire, now less understood in Europe than they were in the preceding century. It would be likewise desirable to ascertain whether any, and what intercourse has taken place of late years between the Emperor of China and any other European State.

" You are to carry with you some considerable presents for the Emperor and the chief persons of his court. If you should find it necessary to increase this designation, a reliance is placed in your discretion that you will not be lavish in expense, where you can in reason and propriety be frugal, and your drafts upon the Company,

or their Treasury at Canton, will be duly honoured.

"Sincerely wishing you a prosperous voyage and complete success in the very important object of it,

"I have the honour to subscribe myself,

"Sir,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) "H. DUNDAS."

C.

LETTER ADDRESSED BY HIS MAJESTY GEORGE III. TO THE EMPEROR OF CHINA UPON THE MISSION OF COLONEL CATHCART.

"GEORGE THE THIRD, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c. &c. &c.

"To the Most August Sovereign, &c. &c., Emperor of China.

"As it is a truth established by the practice of your Majesty's imperial predecessors, and confirmed by the experience of your own long and prosperous reign over the extensive Empire of China, that the establishment of a well-regulated trade between nations distantly situated tends to their mutual happiness, invention, industry, and wealth; and that the blessings which the Great God of Heaven hath conferred upon various soils and climates are thus distributed

amongst his creatures scattered over the whole earth, I am persuaded that your royal mind has long been convinced of the policy of encouraging such an interchange of commodities between our respective subjects, conducted upon fair and equitable principles consistent with the honour and safety of both sovereigns. It is a subject of regret to me that no intercourse has hitherto taken place between your Majesty and me, in order to ratify and invigorate the friendship which it is the anxious wish of my heart to maintain; and to afford a speedy remedy to all those inconveniences or misunderstandings which are liable to arise between our subjects in mercantile transactions of so much magnitude.

"Under these circumstances I have judged it expedient to depute an ambassador to your sublime court. For this commission I have chosen the Honourable Charles Cathcart, a gentleman of noble birth, who bears the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in my armies, and is a member of the legislative body of Great Britain, with credentials under the Great Seal of my kingdoms, and my own sign manual; to whom I entreat your Majesty to give a gracious reception, and a favourable ear to his representations.

"I rely on your Majesty's wisdom and justice

that you will afford my subjects, as long as they conduct themselves with propriety, a secure residence within your dominions, and a fair access to your markets, under such laws and regulations as your Majesty shall think right; that their lives and properties shall be safe under your imperial protection; that one man shall not suffer for another's crime; but that every necessary measure shall be taken on the part of your Majesty's Government, as it certainly shall on mine, to bring to condign punishment all persons who may transgress the laws, and any way disturb the peace and friendship subsisting between us.

"I have sent a few presents from this country, not as being worthy of your Majesty's notice, but as a mark of my regard and friendly disposition to your imperial Majesty.

"May the Almighty have you in His holy keeping, &c.

"Given at our Court at St. James's, &c."

D.

LETTER ADDRESSED BY HIS MAJESTY GEORGE THE THIRD TO THE EMPEROR OF CHINA, UPON THE MISSION OF LORD MACARTNEY, IN 1792.

"His most Sacred Majesty George the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Sovereign of the Seas, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, To the Supreme Emperor of China Kien-long, worthy to live tens of thousands and tens of thousands thousand years, sendeth greeting.

"The natural disposition of a great and benevolent Sovereign, such as is your Imperial Majesty, whom Providence has seated upon a throne, for the good of mankind, is, to watch over the peace and security of his dominions and to take pains for disseminating happiness, virtue, and knowledge among his subjects, ex-

tending also the same beneficence with all the peaceful arts, as far as he is able, to the whole human race. Impressed with such sentiments from the beginning of our reign when we found our people engaged in war, We granted to our enemies, after obtaining victories over them in the four quarters of the world, the blessings of peace upon the most equitable conditions. Since that period, not satisfied with promoting the prosperity of our own subjects in every respect, and beyond the example of any former times, We have taken various opportunities of fitting out ships, and sending in them some of the most wise and learned of our own people, for the discovery of distant and unknown regions, not for the purpose of conquest, or of enlarging our dominions, which are already sufficiently extensive for all our wishes, not for the purpose of acquiring wealth, or even of favouring the commerce of our subjects, but for the sake of increasing our knowledge of the habitable globe, of finding out the various productions of the earth, and for communicating the arts and comforts of life to those parts where they were hitherto little known; and we have since sent vessels with the animals and vegetables most useful to man, to islands and places where it

appeared they had been wanting. We have been still more anxious to enquire into the arts and manners of countries where civilization has been perfected by the wise ordinances and virtuous examples of their sovereigns through a long series of ages; and, above all, our ardent wish has been to become acquainted with those celebrated institutions of your Majesty's populous and extensive empire which have carried its prosperity to such a height as to be the admiration of all surrounding nations. And now that we have by prudence and justice avoided the calamities of war, into which discord and ambition have plunged most of the other kingdoms of Europe, and by engaging our allies in Hindostan to put an end to hostilities occasioned by the attack of an ambitious neighbour, even when it was in our power to destroy him, We have the happiness of being at peace with all the world; no time can be so propitious for extending the bounds of friendship and benevolence, and for proposing to communicate and receive those benefits which must result from an unreserved and amicable intercourse between such great and civilized nations as China and Great Britain. Many of our subjects have also frequented for a long time past

a remote part of your Majesty's dominions for the purpose of trade. No doubt the interchange of commodities between nations distantly situated tends to their mutual convenience, industry, and wealth, as the blessings which the Great God of Heaven has conferred upon various soils and climates are thus distributed among his creatures scattered over the surface of the earth. But such an intercourse requires to be properly conducted, so as that the new comers may not infringe the laws and customs of the country they visit, and that on the other hand they may be received on terms of hospitality, and meet the justice and protection due to strangers ; We are indeed equally desirous to restrain our subjects from doing evil or even of showing ill example in any foreign country, as we are that they should receive no injury in it. There is no method of effectuating so good a purpose, but by the residence of a proper person authorized by us to regulate their conduct, and to receive complaints whenever they should give occasion for any to be made against them, as well as any they might consider as having just cause to make of ill-treatment towards them.

" By such means every misunderstanding may be prevented, every inconvenience removed, a

firm and lasting friendship cemented, and a return of mutual good offices secured between our respective empires. All these considerations have determined us to depute an Embassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to your Court, and willing to make choice for this purpose of a person truly worthy of representing us and of appearing before your august presence, We have fixed upon our right trusty and well-beloved cousin and counsellor, the Right Honourable George Lord Viscount Macartney, Baron of Lissanoure, and one of our most honorable Privy Council of our Kingdom of Great Britain, Knight of the most honorable order of the Bath and of the most ancient and royal order of the White Eagle, and Fellow of our Royal Society of London for the promotion of natural knowledge, a nobleman of high rank and quality, of great virtue, wisdom, and ability, who has filled many important offices in the state of trust and honor, has already worthily represented our person in an Embassy to the Court of Russia, and has governed with mildness, justice, and success, several of our most considerable possessions in the eastern and western parts of the world, and appointed to the Government General of Bengal, to be our Embassador Extraordinary

and Plenipotentiary to your Imperial Majesty, with credentials under our great seal of our Kingdoms and our sign manual, to whom we entreat your Majesty to grant a gracious reception as well as a favourable attention to his representations.

"And in order to avoid every possibility of interrruption in this amicable communication which we wish to establish and maintain with your sublime person and court, and which might happen after the departure of our said Embassador Extraordinary whose presence may be necessary to our affairs elsewhere, or in case of his death or occasional absence from your capital, We have appointed our trusty and well-beloved Sir George Staunton, Bart., honorary Doctor of Laws of our University of Oxford, and Fellow of our Royal Society of London for the promotion of natural knowledge, whom we have appointed our Secretary of Embassy under the direction of our Embassador as a gentleman of wisdom and knowledge who hath already served us with fidelity and zeal as a member of our honourable council and colonel of militia in some of our dominions in the West Indies, and appointed by us our attorney general in the same, and hath since exercised with ability and

success the office of commissioner for treating and making peace with Tippoo Sultaun, one of the most considerable princes of Hindostan, to be also Minister Plenipotentiary to your august person, with credentials likewise under our great seal, and for whom, in case of the death, departure, or occasional absence of our said Embassador Extraordinary, we entreat in like manner your Majesty's gracious reception and attention to his representations in our name.

"We rely on your Imperial Majesty's wisdom and justice and general benevolence to mankind so conspicuous in your long and happy reign that you will please to allow our ambassador and representative at your court to have the opportunity of contemplating the example of your virtues, and to obtain such information of your celebrated institutions, as will enable him to enlighten our people on his return. We, on our part, being directed to give, as far as your Majesty shall please to desire it, a full and free communication of any art, science, or observation, either of use or curiosity, which the industry, ingenuity, and experience of Europeans may have enabled them to acquire: and also that you will be pleased to allow to any of our subjects frequenting the courts of your dominions, and conducting themselves with pro-

priety, a secure residence there, and a fair access to your markets, under such laws and regulations as your Majesty shall think right, and that their lives and properties shall be safe under your imperial protection; that one man shall not suffer for the crime of another, in which he did not participate, and whose evasion from justice he did not assist, but that every measure shall be taken on the part of your government as our ambassador is instructed strictly to direct to be taken on the part of our people to seize and bring to condign punishment any of our subjects transgressing the laws or good order of your empire, or disturbing the peace and friendship subsisting between us.

"We have particularly instructed our ambassador to take every method in his power to mark our regard and friendly disposition to your imperial Majesty, and it will give us the utmost satisfaction to learn that our wishes in that respect have been amply complied with, and that as we are brethren in sovereignty, so may a brotherly affection ever subsist between us.

"May the Almighty have you in his holy protection!

"Given at our Court at St. James's in London the and in the 32nd year of our Reign.

"Imperator Augustissime

"Vester bonus frater et Amicus

"GEORGIUS R.

"Augustissimo Principi

"Kien Long

"Sinarum Supremo Imperatori."

E.

LETTER OF THE EMPEROR OF CHINA TO HIS MAJESTY GEORGE III., BROUGHT HOME BY LORD MACARTNEY FROM PEKIN.*

Epistola missa ab Imperatore Suiarum ad Regem Angliæ.

[N.B. This letter was declared to be the Emperor of China's answer to the King of Great Britain's letter by the first minister Cho-chan-tong, accompanied by the Ison-tonc or Viceroy of Canton, and his Brother the Foulion, at the Palace of Pekin, October 3rd, 1793, and sent in a few hours after, in great state, accompanied by sixteen mandarins, to the ambassador's house.]

Cum moreris, O Rex, ultra plurimos tractus marium urbanitate ductus, dignatus es mittere ad me legatum, qui pro anniversariâ natalis mei

* MSS. 150. Board of Control.

die, reverentiam mihi faceret, tradidisti ei literas patentes ad me mandans ut ad præsentiam meam veniret et in signum sinceræ affectionis tuæ erga me offeret mihi dona et res regionis tu, ut fecit. Ego lectâ epistolâ tuæ ex verbis illius plenis amore et sinceritate agnovi intentionem tuam, O Rex, devotam et affectuosam esse erga me, qua propter tibi gratias ago. Animo perpendens quod Primarius Legatus tuus, qui et literas patentes et dona tua obtulit et Secundarius Legatus ex longinquis terris huc venerant, eos benignè accepi, gratiosè recepi. Super etiam magnatibus, ut ad præsentiam meam eos ducerent. Dedi eis convivium; repetitis vicibus munera eis impertitus fui. Effeci ut ipsimet intelligerent me usque ad blanditias benè agere cum illis, et quamvis naves eorum reveræ fuerint ad locum dictum Tehao-tchou-chan et officiales navium et sex centi illi et amplius inferiores homines non venerint Pekinum, Ego nihilominus peramanter eos tractavi et donis cumulavi Quod vero spectat ad petitionem tuam in literis patentibus contentam, ut eligam scilicet unum ex subditis tuis et relinquam in regno meo, ut curam habeat mercatoribus Anglis huc venientibus, id non est conforme moribus nostri Imperii, adeoque non potest habere locum et ef-

fectum. Quando est Europæus, qui ex quocunque regno sit, vult venire huc, ad mihi inserviendum, do illi permissum veniendi Pekinum; sed post quam venerit, statim induere debet vestes Sinicas et habitare in ecclesiis et non protest reverti ad proprium regnum. Hac consuetudo jam stabilita est in Sinis, et ut puto, tu ipsemet. O Rex, hoc non ignoras. Nunc, O Rex, si velis eligere unum ex subditis tuis, ut maneat Pekini, debet ipse sicut alii Europii, qui huc veniunt, ad inserviendum mihi, mavere hic perpetuò et non amplius reverti in patriam et non habere commercium literarium ad libitum, et libertatem eundi quo vult. Hoc supposito verè nulla inde utilitas vobis provenire posset. Præterquam quod loca, quæ ab Imperio gubernantur sunt valde ampla et longinqua, quando venit aliquis legatus ex exteris regionibus ad hanc urbem regiam, assignatur illi ad habitandum hospitium proportionatum ex publico; et sunt determinata regula pro accessu et recessu et commercio cum alienis: non potest ad arbitrium suum ire quo velit. Nunc etiamsi relinquetur Pekini unus ex vestris non intelligemus linguam illius, neque possumus permittere ut alienâ veste utatur et egat alio modo ac alii Europæi hic degentes. Si vero dicas nostrum esse et efficere

ut illi vestem et modum agendi mutet; nunquam hic fuit iste mos cogendi aliquen ut agat contra voluntatem ac placitum suum. Exempli gratiâ si nos velimus mittere aliquam ex nostris ad vos, et illum perpetuo morari in vestro regno, certè idem ab illo exigeretis alioquim nullo modo acquiesceretis, cumque nolletis recipere. Hoc quoque addendum est. Regna Europæa sunt multa, vestrum regnum non est solum et unicum. Si alii regis ad exemptum tuum exsubditis propriis O Rex, velint eligere unum, et rogent ut possit manere Pekini, potestne concedi hoc omnibus? Hac Res fieri absolute non licet: decetne ut propter instantaneam petitionem tuam,—O Rex, mutare leges et consuetudines statutas in hoc regno a centum et amplius annis. Si dicas, hoc petere te in bonum et utilitatem subditorum tuorum, qui hic mercaturam faciunt, vestri homines in Macao mercimonium agunt jam a multis annis, non ab uno die, Egoque exemplo eos peramanter tractavi. Olim ex Lusitaniâ et Italiâ pluries mihi missi fuere Legati ad hanc aulam postulantes ut protegerantur eorum mercatores. Imperatores sinarum perspectâ sincerâ intentione regum illorum favore suo semper protexerunt eorum subditos mercatores; paucis ab hinc annis, quia unus mercator

cantonensis, nomine Ou-tchao-ping debebat uni mercatori Europæo naulum navis, hac aula commisit Vice-regi illius provincina, ut extractâ ex ærario publico pecunia, solvere hujusmodi debitum, punivit etiam severè delinquentem sinensem. Istud factum, ut reor, notum et vobis. Res cum ita se habeant et impunitæ non relinquantur injustitia, ad quid petere, et contra consuetudines? Imperii relinquatur unus ex subditis tuis Pekini. Præterea licet unus ex vestris moretur Pekini, vestri mercatores utpote degentes Macai distant ab illo per plura millia stadiorum, quomodo poterit curare eorum negotia? Si dicas, O Rex, te magni facere et diligere imperium nostrum, velleque hominem hujusmodi scrutari et ediscere leges et mores regionis in regno nostro Sinarum habemus nostra statuta et cerimonias diversas a statutis et cerimoniis vestri regni: vester homo etiamsi possit ea bene discere, quandoquidun discrepant a consuetudinibus, quæ inter vos jam diu vigent, certè imitari et sequi non poteritis; ille discet quidem sed inutiliter discet. Politica regni sinensis in gubernando est tota in hoc, ut pax et tranquillitas ubique vigeat et conservetur: hoc tantum intendit et meditatur. Non multum estimat res exteras et pretiosas. Quæ ad me hac vice mi-

sisti dona,—O Rex, de longinquis regionibus, quia indicia sunt animi tui sinceri et benevoli erga me, decrevi ut omnia exciperentur omnino. Re autem verâ, cum Sinense imperium virtutes, famam et majestatis splendorem longè latique extendent et exteri populi o mille et mille locis veniant ad præstandum nobis obsequium et per montium et marium iter afferant mihi rara et prestiosa dona, quæ res esse potest quæ hic desideretur? Legati quos majestas tua misit ipsimet viderunt hoc non obstante ego propriè non magni facio hujusmodi quod rarum est et artificiosum, et non indigeo rerum quæ fiunt in vestro regno. Quod petis, O Rex, ut subditus tuus maneat Pekini, id non solum opponitur statutis hujus regni, sedetiam mullius utilitatis est pro vestro regno; idcircò ita claré et distincti exposui Majestati tuæ mentem meam, et judicavi cum bonâ variâ tuâ remittere Legatos, qui dona tua mihi obtulerunt. Rogo te, O Rex ut intentioni mihi, intentioni tua respondeat, quod justum et verum est prosequere. Cum omni solutiâ et benignitate age semper. Vaca rebus publicis, defende a malis regnum tuam, effice ut gaudeamus invicem bon pacis, et tranquillitatis. Præter munera quæ de more dedi Primario et Secundario Legato et omnibus offi-

cialibus interpreti, militibus et inferioribus hominibus addidi alia, quæ in diversa catalogo notata sunt. Nunc occasione reditûs Legati Magestatis tuæ tradidi dona quæ de consuetudine offero tibi; O Rex, serica variegata, silicet ut res pulchras addidi plurium colorem serica, Cha-ling-tse, et utensilia ad scribendum et ad alios usus quæ omnia descripta sunt in alia papyro. Excipias, oro, ista omnia, O Rex, et affection benevolentiaque mea respondeas Idcirco Majestati tuæ hanc epistolam scripsi.

"Imperii Kien-long, anno quinquagessimo octavo, nonæ Luna die tertio."

Pekin Gazette.

Kea-King, 19th Year, 10th Moon, 2nd Day.
(November 13, 1814.)

N.B.—On Governing with Sincerity.
Drawn up by His Majesty.

"Govern with truth and sincerity, and order will be the result; if not, then anarchy will ensue. To an individual, a family, even to the

Sovereign and the whole empire, nothing further is requisite than truth.

"At this moment great degeneracy prevails: the magistrates are destitute of truth, and great numbers of the people are false and deceitful. The magistrates are remiss and inattentive; the people are all given up to visionary schemes and infernal arts. The link that binds together superiors and inferiors is broken. There is little of either conscience or a sense of shame. Not only do they neglect to obey the admonitions which I give them; but, even with respect to those traitorous banditti, who make the most horrible opposition to me; it affects not their minds in the least degree: they never give the subject a thought. It is indeed monstrously strange! That which weighs with them in their persons and families; the nation and government, they consider light as nothing.

"He who sincerely serves his country, leaves the fragrance of a good name to a hundred ages; he who does not, leaves a name that stinks for tens of thousands of years.

"The utmost limit of man's life is not more than an hundred years. What hearts have those, who, being engaged in the service of

their Sovereign, but destitute of talent, yet choose to enjoy the sweets of office, and carelessly spend their days.

"The means used by the sages to perfect their virtue, is expressed in one word, 'Sincerity.' Sincerity! or in other words, Truth and Uprightness. Let my servants (the officers of the Empire) examine themselves, whether or not they can be sincere; whether or not they can be upright? I fear they will give but a poor account.

"The virtue of the common people is like the waving grain, (it bends with every wind that blows.) If superiors have little truth or sincerity in their hearts, the disorderly intentions of the people will certainly be numerous. Small in the beginning, and not affecting the mass of the people, they gradually increase, till at last the bludgeon is seized, and rebellion and anarchy ensue. In ancient times the heads of rebellion styled themselves Wang and Te, Kings and Emperors;* but it was never heard in ancient times, that any assumed the name of San Hwang (or the King of Heaven, the King of Earth, and

* By this it would appear that some person had recently assumed this title.

the King of Men).* The hearts of the men of this age are daily degenerating.

"As we are the superiors of this people, shall we bear not to exert our hearts and strength to the utmost—shall we not bend under the labour even to lassitude, if we may thereby save a ten-thousandth part!

"If in coming forward, or in retiring, the sole object be personal gain; does a man not lower himself thereby to the common mass; nay, sink low as the filth of the age? Think, what kind of men will future ages describe you! Will they not engrave infamy on your back!

"For every portion of sincerity exerted by the officers of government, the nation receives a portion of felicity, and the people are spared a portion of misery. The prince and the people alike depend on the officers of government. The happy state of things in the time of Tang and Yu† was the result of the exertions of the officers of government.

"Because of my moral defects, I met with a great convulsion, which took place the last year. Day nor night can I banish it from my breast.

* Alluding to the fabulous ages of Chinese history.

† About the year of the world 1700.

My anxious and constant desire is to bring things to a well-governed state. How shall I dare to be remiss or inattentive to it? But my servants of late gradually forget the affair. When I call them into my presence, they say, 'There is nothing wrong!'

"O, alas!—The residue of the rebels, not yet taken; commotion excited by various reports; to sit down with repose is impracticable. Shall men still treat it with indifference, and allow themselves to say, 'There is nothing wrong! If this may be endured, what may not be endured!'

I speak with the utmost sincerity of heart, and call upon all the officers of my court to act with sincerity of heart, and sincerely fulfil the duty of good servants. Thus they will aid my sincere wishes, and accord with my sincere declarations. If you are able to disregard this, and consider the words of your Sovereign as of no importance, you are, indeed, harder than the rocks. You are unfit to be spoken to; and the fault of speaking to those who are unfit to be spoken to, devolves on me. But it will be impossible for you to escape being charged by the pen of the historian as false and treacherous deceivers. The distinction betwixt a patriot

and a traitor is expressed by the two words 'True, False.' In the morning and at night lay your hands upon your hearts, and you will understand without the aid of words."

G.

ORDER IN COUNCIL, ADDRESSED TO THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON, 17TH AUGUST, 1661, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT PRESERVED IN THE CITY LIBRARY IN GUILDHALL, FOLIO V., P. 107.

"AFTER our hearty commendations, these are to acquaint you that his Majesty, having this day taken into his princely consideration how necessary it is for the good of this kingdom that trade and commerce with foreign parts be with all due care encouraged and maintained; and for the better settling thereof, declared his gracious intention to appoint a committee of understanding, able persons to take into their particular consideration all things conducible thereunto —we do, by his Majesty's special command, and in order to the better carrying on so truly royal and profitable, and advantageous a design, desire

you to give notice hereof unto the Turkey,—the Merchant Adventurers, — the East India, — Greenland,—and Eastland companies, and likewise to the unincorporated traders to Spain, France, Portugal, Italy, and the West India Plantations, willing them out of their respective societies to present unto his Majesty the names of four of their most noted men, of whom, when his Majesty shall have chosen two of each four so nominated, and unto this number of merchants added some other able and well experienced persons, dignified also with the presence and assistance of some of his Majesty's Privy Council, all those to be by the king approved, constituted, and authorised by commission under the Great Seal, as a standing Committee to inquire into and rectify all things tending to the advancement of trade and commerce; that so by their prudence, and faithful counsel and advice, his Majesty may now in the present conjuncture, whilst most foreign princes and potentates do, upon his Majesty's happy establishment upon the throne, seek to renew their former alliances with the crown, insert in the several treaties such articles and clauses as may render this nation more prosperous and flourishing in trade and commerce; thus, by prudence, care, and in-

dustry, improving the highest point of felicity, and those great advantages which, by its admirable situation, nature seems to have indulged to this his Majesty's kingdom. So we bid you heartily farewell.

"From the Court of Whitehall, this 17th day of August, 1660.

"Edward Hyde, C.	"D. Roberts.
"Albemarle.	"Arthur Annesley.
"T. Southampton.	"W. Norris.
"Manchester.	"Rich. Brown."
"V. Say and Seale.	

"*Letter from the Lord Mayor, in pursuance of the foreign Order in Council, to Eliab Harvey, Esq., and Samuel Mill, Esq., to be communicated to the Merchants trading with Italy;" preserved in the City of London Library, Guildhall, Folio N, No.* 76.

"Gentlemen,

"In pursuance of the letter whereof a copy is enclosed, from the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and by the advice of the Court of Aldermen, I desire you with all convenient speed to call together the merchants of London trading with Italy; and to make choice of some persons

qualified, as in the same letter is mentioned for the purposes therein expressed; and to certify me of your effectual performance thereof before this day sevennight.

"I rest

"Your assured friend,

"THOMAS ALEYN,

"MAYOR."

23rd Aug., 1660.

The body thus constituted, met for several years at Mercers' Hall; and, from records of their deliberations, still extant, it appears that they did not disappoint the expectations formed upon their inauguration, whether upon the subject of trade, or *colonies*.

THE END.

J. Billing, Printer and Stereotyper, Guildford, Surrey.

W. J. Linder 1870

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